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THE DIARY  
OF  
SAMUEL PEPYS.

*From June to October, 1667.*



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THE DIARY

OF

SAMUEL PEPYS.

*From June to October, 1667.*



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## INTRODUCTION.

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THE Dutch War and the Fall of Clarendon are the events of history which this volume illustrates. We have the miserable close of the war, with the Dutch fleet in the Thames, London in panic, sailors unpaid, the means even of defence wanting, and the end of the monarchy looked for through the profligacy of a king who had dissipated, in his brutal pleasures, larger grants of war-money than his predecessors knew how to obtain. A shameful war is closed hurriedly by shameful peace, upon such terms as are given only to the vanquished. A shameful Court varies its dissipations with mean griping for more money to be meanly spent. A Parliament is called, and sent away again because it has appeared possible to do without it, after all. Wretched cabals and wretched instability of purpose unite in a mean truckling to public opinion, in view of the need there would be, before long, for

the sake of getting money, to call Parliament again.

King Charles had been engaged in a secret treaty with the King of France, about which Pepys knew nothing. Letters on each side were addressed to Henrietta Maria, Charles the Second's mother, and forwarded by her to each king as from herself. The French ambassador, therefore, supported the policy of peace with England at the Hague, and that was the state of affairs between Charles the Second and Louis the Fourteenth, when De Ruyter, with his seventy sail, was at the Nore. The Commissioners of the English Navy were, by the King's fault, nine hundred thousand pounds in debt. There was corruption everywhere. Our sailors had received their pay in tickets, for which they could not get cash. The pressed men received no money, and were illegally detained. Many of our sailors in despair took service under the Dutch, and were well treated by them. The Dutch burnt our ships in the Medway, and proceeded up the river, two men-of-war leading, followed by six great fire-ships, and the rest of the squadron. They

burnt on the way the *Royal James*, having already captured the *Royal Charles*. They burnt also the *Oak*, and the ship given by the City of London. Van Ghent, their commander, retired with the ebb-tide to the Nore, burning, on the way, two of his own vessels that grounded.

The Dutch, having their own will with us, deferred the negotiations at Breda till Marshal Turenne for King Louis had passed the frontiers of Flanders with seventy thousand men. By the secret treaty, Charles the Second had bound himself to leave the French King unresisted in his attacks on the possessions of Spain. When the Spaniards in Lille were besieged by the French forces, the Dutch found it necessary to have their hands freed of the war with England, and three treaties were then signed, severally, with England, by Holland, France, and Denmark.

Then followed the sacrifice by Charles the Second of the Earl of Clarendon, who had been his father's friend, and, as a high-handed supporter of absolute monarchy, was antagonist to the privileges of the House of Commons, and much disliked by the

people. In the Council he ruled opinion with a gravity of manner and of purpose that kept the King himself in check, and was intolerable to the King's dissolute friends, who mimicked the great Chancellor behind his back. He stood between an earnest people, that repudiated his political opinions, and the wretched Court he served, in which he was beset with petty malice for his very strength and earnestness. He forbade his wife to visit the King's mistress, Lady Castlemaine, and would not allow her to recognise her as a fit associate, even at the King's request. The Duke of Buckingham, also his enemy, was sent to the Tower for opposing in Parliament the King and Lady Castlemaine, but he recanted, made peace, and returned into league with the King and his favourite. Then Lady Castlemaine had her revenge on Clarendon. It was made open talk for the people that he had advised against the calling of a Parliament, and counselled Government by royal authority alone, with force behind it. It was suggested to the King that Clarendon married his daughter to the Duke of York out of desire that his own descendants should be sovereigns

in England, and to that end he had procured the King's marriage to a queen who would be childless. Above all, there was the consideration that by the fall of Clarendon the people would be pleased, the King would get rid of a controlling councillor, and the Parliament, when called for the purpose of providing Charles with money, would be put into good humour. Clarendon was replaced by a very honest man, in whom the people could put confidence—Sir Orlando Bridgeman, Chief Justice of the Common Pleas.

While these events in English history are fully illustrated by Pepys in this portion of his diary, the illustrations of the social life of his time abound as usual. There is duelling illustrated by the story of two close friends who had been drinking at a dinner-party. As they talked rather loudly, it was suggested that one was quarrelling with the other. "I never quarrel," he said; "I strike at once;" and struck his friend. There must be a duel; and at once, lest cool blood and close friendship should leave the insult unavenged, and so in the name of honour one of them





## PEPYS'S DIARY:

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*June 1st, 1667.* Up, and there comes to me Mr. Commander, whom I employ about hiring of some ground behind the office, for the building of me a stable and coach-house: for I do find it necessary for me, both in respect of honour and the profit of it also, my expense in hackney coaches being now so great, to keep a coach, and therefore will do it. Having given him some instructions about it, I to the office, where we have news that our peace with Spain, as to trade, is wholly concluded, and we are to furnish him with some men for Flanders against the French. How they will-agree with the French I know not, but they say that he also hath liberty to get what men he pleases out of England. But for the Spaniard, I hear that my Lord Castlehaven is raising a regiment of 4,000 men, which he is to command there, and several young gentlemen are going over in commands with him, and they say the Duke of Monmouth is going over only as a traveller, not to engage on either side, but only to see the campaign, which will be becoming him much more than to live a loose life as he now does.

2nd. (Lord's day). Being weary and almost blind with writing and reading so much to-day, I took boat, and up the river all alone as high as Putney almost, and then back again, all the way reading, and finishing Mr. Boyle's book of Colours, which is so chemicall, that I can understand but little of it, but enough to see that he is a most excellent man.

3rd. Met Mr. Mills, our parson, whom I went back with to bring him to Sir W. Coventry, to give him the form of a qualification for the Duke of York to sign to, to enable him to have two livings, which was a service I did, but much against my will, for a lazy, fat priest. Sir William Doyly did lay a wager with me the Treasurership would be in one hand, notwithstanding this present Commission, before Christmas, on which we did lay a poll of ling, a brace of carps, and a pottle of wine, and Sir W. Pen and Mr. Scowen to be at the eating of them. Thence down by water to Deptford, it being Trinity Monday, when the master is chosen, and there, finding them all at church, and thinking they dined, as usual, at Stepney, I turned back, having a good book in my hand, the Life of Cardinal Wolsey, wrote by his own servant, and to Ratcliffe; and so walked to Stepney, and spent my time in the churchyard, looking over the gravestones, expecting when the company would come by. Finding no company stirring, I sent to the house to see; and, it seems, they dine not there,

but at Deptford: so I back again to Deptford, and there find them just sat down. And so I down with them; and we had a good dinner of plain meat, and good company at our table; among others, my good Mr. Evelyn, with whom, after dinner, I stepped aside, and talked upon the present posture of our affairs, which is, that the Dutche are known to be abroad with eighty sail of ships of war, and twenty fire-ships; and the French come into the channel with twenty sail of men-of-war, and five fire-ships, while we have not a ship at sea to do them any hurt with, but are calling in all we can, while our ambassadors are treating at Breda: and the Dutch look upon them as come to beg peace, and use them accordingly; and all this through the negligence of our prince, who had power, if he would, to master all these with the money and men that he hath had the command of, and may now have, if he would mind his business. But, for aught we see, the kingdom is likely to be lost, as well as the reputation of it is, for ever; notwithstanding, so much reputation got and preserved by a rebel that went before him. In the Treasury-chamber an hour or two, where we saw the Country Receivers, and Accountants come to attend; and one of them, a brisk young fellow, with his hat cocked like a fool behind, as the present fashion among the blades is, committed to the sergeant. By-and-by I, upon desire, was called in, and delivered in my Report of my Accounts.

Present, Lord Ashley, Clifford, and Duncomb, who, being busy, did not read it, but committed it to Sir George Downing, and so I was dismissed; but, Lord! to see how Duncomb do take upon him is an eyesore, though I think he deserves great honour, but only the suddenness of his rise, and his pride. But I do like the way of these lords, that they admit nobody to use many words, nor do they spend many words themselves, but in great state do hear what they see necessary, and say little themselves, but did withdraw. Thence Creed and I by water up to Fox Hall, and over against it stopped, thinking to see some cock-fighting; but it was just being done, and, therefore, back again to Spring Garden, and then to walk up and down the garden, reflecting upon the bad management of things now, compared with what it was in the late rebellious times, when men, some for fear, and some for religion, minded their business, which none now do, by being void of both.

4th. Mr. Commander tells me, after all, that I cannot have a lease of the ground for my coach-house and stable, till a suit in law be ended. I am little sorry, because I am pretty full in my mind of keeping a coach; but yet, when I think of it again, the Dutch and French both at sea, and we poor, and still out of order, I know not yet what turns there may be.

5th. To the Commissioners of the Treasury, and, after long waiting, I find them all sat; and, among

the rest, Duncomb lolling, with his heels upon another chair, by that that he sat upon. Captain Perriman brings us word how the *Happy Return's* crew below in the Hope, ordered to carry the Portugal ambassador to Holland, and the ambassador, I think, on board, refuse to go till paid; and by their example two or three more ships are in a mutiny, which is a sad consideration, while so many of the enemy's ships are at this day triumphing in the sea. Sir G. Carteret showed me a gentleman coming by in his coach, who hath been sent for up out of Lincolnshire, I think he says he is a justice of peace there, that the Council have laid by the heels here, and here lies in a messenger's hands, for saying that a man and his wife are but one person, and so ought to pay but 12d. for both to the Poll Bill, by which others were led to do the like, and so here he lies prisoner.

6th. With my father and wife to Sir W. Pen's to dinner, which they invited us to out of their respect to my father, as a stranger, though I know them as false as the devil himself, and that is only that they think it fit to oblige me; wherein I am a happy man, that all my fellow-officers are desirous of my friendship. Mr. Pierce tells me that the Duke of Cambridge is yet living, but every minute expected to die.

7th. With Mr. Townsend, whom I sent for to come to me to discourse about my Lord Sandwich's

business, for whom I am in some pain, lest the Accounts of the Wardrobe may not be in so good order as may please the new Lords Treasurers, who are quick-sighted, and under obligations of recommending themselves to the King and the world, by their finding and mending of faults, and are, most of them, not the best friends to my Lord.

8th. Up, and to the office, where all the news this morning is, that the Dutch are come with a fleet of eighty sail to Harwich, and that guns were heard plain by Sir W. Rider's people at Bednall-green, all yesterday even. Home, where our dinner a ham of French bacon, boiled with pigeons, an excellent dish. The news is confirmed that the Dutch are off Harwich, but had done nothing last night. The King hath sent down my Lord of Oxford to raise the countries there; and all the western barges are taken up to make a bridge over the river, about the Hope, for horse to cross the river, if there be occasion.

9th. (Lord's day). I hear that the Duke of Cambridge, who was given over long since by the doctors, is now likely to recover, for which God be praised! To Sir W. Coventry, and there talked with him a great while; and mighty glad I was of my good fortune to visit him, for it keeps in my acquaintance with him, and the world sees it, and reckons my interest accordingly. In comes my Lord Berkeley, who is going down to Harwich also to look after the

militia there: and there is also the Duke of Monmouth, and with him a great many young Hectors, the Lord Chesterfield, my Lord Mandeville, and others; but to little purpose, I fear, but, to debauch the country women thereabouts. My Lord Barkeley wanting some maps, and Sir W. Coventry recommending the six maps of England that are bound up for the pocket, I did offer to present my Lord with them, which he accepted; and so I will send them him. Took boat, and up, all alone as high as Barne Elmes, and there took a turn; and then to my boat again, and home, reading and making an end of the book I lately bought—a merry satire, called “The Visions,” translated from the Spanish by L’Estrange, wherein there are many very pretty things; but the translation is, as to the rendering it into English expression, the best that ever I saw, it being impossible almost to conceive that it should be a translation. I find an order come for the getting some fire-ships presently to annoy the Dutch, who are in the King’s Channel, and expected up higher.

10th. Up, and news brought us that the Dutch are come up as high as the Nore, and more pressing orders for fire-ships. W. Batten, W. Pen, and I to St. James’s; whence the Duke of York gone this morning betimes, to send away some men down to Chatham. So we then to Whitehall, and met Sir W. Coventry, who presses all that is possible for fire-ships.



So we three to the office presently; and thither comes Sir Fretcheville Hollis, who is to command the all in some exploits he is to do with them on the enemy in the river. So we all down to Deptford, and pitched upon ships and set men at work: but Lord! to see how backwardly things move at this pinch, notwithstanding that, by the enemy's being now come up as high as almost the Hope, Sir J. Minnes, who was gone down to pay some ships there, hath sent up the money; and so we are possessed of money to do what we will with. Yet partly ourselves, being used to be idle and in despair, and partly people that have been used to be deceived by us as to money, won't believe us; and we know not, though we have it, how almost to promise it; and our wants such, and men out of the way, that it is an admirable thing to consider how much the King suffers, and how necessary it is in a State to keep the King's service always in a good posture and credit. Down to Greenwich, where I find the stairs full of people, there being a great riding there to-day for a man, the constable of the town, whose wife beat him. Down to Gravesend, where I find the Duke of Albemarle just come, with a great many idle lords and gentlemen, with their pistols and fooleries; and the bulwark not able to have stood half-an-hour had they came up; but the Dutch are fallen down from the Hope and Shell Haven as low as Sheerness, and we do plainly at this time hear the guns play. Yet I do not

And the Duke of Albemarle intends to go thither, but stay here to-night, and hath, though the Dutch are gone, ordered our frigates to be brought to a line between the two block-houses, which I took then to be a ridiculous thing. I find the townsmen had removed most of their goods out of the town, for fear of the Dutch coming up to them; and from Sir John Griffen, that last night there was not twelve men to be got in the town to defend it, which the master of the house tells me is not true, but that the men of the town did intend to stay, though they did indeed, and so had he, at the ship, removed their goods. Thence went to an Ostend man-of-war, just now come up, who met the Dutch fleet, who took three ships that he came conveying hither from him: says they are as low as the Nore, or thereabouts.

11th. Brouncker came to us, who is just now going to Chatham upon a desire of Commissioner Pett's, who is very fearful of the Dutch, and desires help for God and the King and kingdom's sake. So Brouncker goes down, and Sir J. Minnes also from Gravesend. This morning Pett writes us word that Sheerness is lost last night, after two or three hours' dispute. The enemy hath possessed himself of that place, which is very sad, and puts us into great fears of Chatham. After dinner, by W. Hewer's lucky advice, went to Mr. Fenn, and did get him to pay me about £400 of my wages, and W. Hewer received it for me, and brought

it home this night. Home, and there to our business, hiring some fire-ships, and receiving every hour almost letters from Sir W. Coventry, calling for more fire-ships: and an order from Council to enable us to take any man's ships; and Sir W. Coventry, in his letter to us, says he does not doubt but at this time, under an invasion, as he owns it to be, the King may by law take any man's goods. At this business late, and then home, where a great deal of serious talk with my wife about the sad state we are in, and especially from the beating up of drums this night for the train-bands upon pain of death to appear in arms to-morrow morning with bullet and powder, and money to supply themselves with victuals for a fortnight, which, considering the soldiers drawn out to Chatham and elsewhere, looks as if they had a design to ruin the City and give it up to be undone, which, I hear, makes the sober citizens to think very sadly of things.

12th. Up very betimes to our business at the office, there hiring of more fire-ships; and at it close all the morning. At noon home, and Sir W. Pen dined with us. By-and-by, after dinner, my wife out by coach to see her mother, and I in another, being afraid, at this busy time, to be seen with a woman in a coach, as if I were idle, towards Mr. Turner's; but met Sir W. Coventry's boy, and there in a letter find that the Dutch had made no motion since their taking

Sheerness; and the Duke of Albemarle writes that all is safe as to the great ships against any assault, the bomb [boom] and chain being so fortified, which put my heart into great joy. When I come to Sir W. Coventry's chamber, I find him abroad; but his clerk, Powell, do tell me that ill news is come to Court of the Dutch breaking the chain at Chatham, which struck me to the heart. And to Whitehall to hear the truth of it, and there, going up the Park stairs, I did hear some lackeys speaking of sad news come to Court, saying, there is hardly anybody in the Court but do look as if he cried. I would not go into the house for fear of being seen, but slunk out and got into a coach. I met Roger Pepys, newly come out of the country. He and I talked aside a little, he offering a match for Pall, one Barnes, of whom we shall talk more the next time. His father married a Pepys; in discourse, he told me that his grandfather, my great grandfather, had £800 per annum, in Queen Elizabeth's time, in the very town of Cottenham, and that we did certainly come out of Scotland with the Abbot of Croyland. Home, where all our hearts do now ache, for the news is true that the Dutch have broke the chain and burned our ships, and particularly the *Royal Charles*. Other particulars I know not, but it is said to be so. And, the truth is, I do fear so much that the whole kingdom is undone, that I do this night resolve to study with my father and wife what to do

with the little that I have in money by me, for I give up all the rest that I have in the King's hands, for Tangier, for lost. So God help us! and God knows what disorders we may fall into, and whether any violence on this office, or perhaps some severity on our persons, as being reckoned by the silly people, or perhaps may, by policy of State, be thought fit to be condemned by the King and Duke of York, and so put to trouble, though, God knows! I have, in my own person, done my full duty, I am sure. Home, and to bed with a heavy heart. The manner of my advising this night with my father was, I took him and my wife up to her chamber, and shut the door, and there told them the sad state of the times how we are like to be all undone; that I do fear some violence will be offered to this office, where all I have in the world is; and resolved upon sending it away—sometimes into the country—sometimes my father to lie in town, and have the gold with him at Sarah Giles's.

13th. No sooner up but hear the sad news confirmed of the *Royal Charles* being taken by them, and now in fitting by them—which Pett should have carried up higher by our several orders, and deserves, therefore, to be hanged for not doing it—and burning several others; and that another fleet is come into the Hope. Upon which news the King and Duke of York have been below, since four o'clock in the morning, to command the sinking of ships at Barking Creek, and

other places, to stop their coming up higher, which put me into such a fear, that I presently resolved of my father's and wife's going into the country; and, at two hours' warning, they did go by the coach this day, with about £1,300 in gold in their night-bag. Pray God give them good passage, and good care to hide it when they come home! but my heart is full of fear. They gone, I continued in fright and fear what to do with the rest. W. Hewer hath been at the banker's, and hath got £500 out of Backewell's hands of his own money; but they are so called upon that they will be all broke, hundreds coming to them for money, and they answer him, "It is payable at twenty days—when the days are out, we will pay you;" and those that are not so, they make tell over their money, and make their bags false, on purpose to give cause to retell it, and so spend time. I cannot have my 200 pieces of gold again for silver, all being bought up last night that were to be had, and sold for 24s. and 25s. apiece. So I must keep the silver by me, which sometimes I think to fling into the house of office, and then again know not how I shall come by it if we be made to leave the office. Every minute some one or other calls for this or that order; and so I forced to be at the office, most of the day, about the fire-ships which are to be suddenly fitted out, and it is a most strange thing that we hear nothing from any of my brethren at Chatham; so that we are wholly in the dark,

various being the reports of what is done there; insomuch that I sent Mr. Clapham express thither to see how matters go. I did, about noon, resolve to send Mr. Gibson away after my wife with another 1,000 pieces, under colour of an express to Sir Jeremy Smith, who is, as I hear, with some ships at Newcastle, which I did really send to him, and may, possibly, prove of good use to the King; for it is possible, in the hurry of business, they may not think of it at Court, and the charge of an express is not considerable to the King. The King and Duke of York up and down all the day here and there, some time on Tower Hill, where the City militia was, where the King did make a speech to them, that they should venture themselves no further than he would himself. I also sent, my mind being in pain, Saunders after my wife and father, to overtake them at their night's lodgings, to see how matters go with them. In the evening I sent for my cousin Sarah [Gyles] and her husband, who come; and I did deliver them my chest of writings about Brampton, and my brother Tom's papers, and my journals, which I value much; and did send my two silver flagons to Kate Joyce's, that so, being scattered what I have, something might be saved. I have also made a girdle, by which, with some trouble, I do carry about me ~~£200~~ in gold about my body, that I may not be without something in case I should be surprised, for I think, in any nation but ours, people

that appear—for we are not indeed so—so faulty as we would have their throats cut. In the evening comes Mr. Pelling, and several others, to the office, and tell me that never were people so dejected as they are in the City all over at this day; and do talk most loudly, even treason; as that we are bought and sold—that we are betrayed by the Papists; and others, about the King, say out that the office of the Ordnance hath been so backward as no powder to have been at Chatham nor Upnor Castle till such a time, and the carriages all broken; that Legg is a Papist; that Upnor, the old good castle built by Queen Elizabeth, should be lately slighted; that the ships at Chatham should not be carried up higher. They look upon us as lost, and remove their families and rich goods in the City, and do think verily that the French, being come down with an army to Dunkirk, it is to invade us, and that we shall be invaded. Mr. Clerke, the solicitor, comes to me about business, and tells me that he hears that the King hath chosen Mr. Pierpont and Vaughan of the West, Privy Councillors; that my Lord Chancellor was affronted in the Hall this day, by people telling him of his Dunkirk House; and that there are regiments ordered to be got together, whereof to be commanders my Lord Fairfax, Ingoldsby, Bethell, Norton, and Birch, and other Protestants; and that Dr. Bates will have liberty to preach. Now, whether this be true or not, I know not; but do think that nothing



that now they come to have them paid, and would have them paid before they parted. And several seamen came this morning to me to tell me that if I would get their tickets paid they would go and do all they could against the Dutch; but otherwise they would not venture being killed, and lose all they have already fought for: so that I was forced to try what I could do to get them paid. This man tells me that the ships burnt last night did lie above Upnor Castle, over against the dock; and the boats came from the ships of war and burnt them, all which is very sad. And masters of ships, that we are lately taking up, do keep from their ships all their stores, or as much as they can, so that we can despatch them, having not time to appraise them nor secure their payment; only some little money we have, which we are fain to pay the men we have with every night, or they will not work. And indeed the hearts as well as affections of the seamen are turned away; and in the open streets in Wapping, and up and down, the wives have cried publicly, "This comes of your not paying our husbands; and now your work is undone, or done by hands that understand it not." And Sir W. Batten told me that he was himself affronted with a woman, in language of this kind, on Tower Hill publicly yesterday; and we are ~~not~~ to bear it and to keep one at the office door, to let no idle people in, for fear of firing of the office and doing us mischief. The City is

troubled at their being put upon duty: summoned one hour, and discharged two hours after; and then again summoned two hours after that; to their great charge as well as trouble. And Pelling, the apothecary, tells me the world says all over, that less charge than what the kingdom is put to, of one kind or other, by this business, would have set out all our great ships. It is said they did in open streets yesterday, at Westminster, cry, "A Parliament! a Parliament!" and I do believe it will cost blood to answer for these miscarriages. We do not hear that the Dutch are come to Gravesend; which is a wonder. But a wonderful thing it is that to this day we have not one word yet from Brouncker, or Peter Pett, or J. Minnes, of anything at Chatham. The people that come hither to hear how things go, make me ashamed to be found unable to answer them: for I am left alone here at the office; and the truth is, I am glad my station is to be here, near my own home and out of danger, yet in a place of doing the King good service. I have this morning good news from Gibson; three letters from three several stages, that he was safe last night as far as Royston, at between nine and ten at night. The dismay that is upon us all, in the business of the kingdom and navy at this day, is not to be expressed otherwise than by the condition the citizens were in when the City was on fire, nobody knowing which way to turn themselves, while everything concurred to greaten the fire; as here the Easterly

gale and spring-tides for coming up both rivers, and enabling them to break the chain. D. Gauden did tell me yesterday, that the day before at the Council they were ready to fall together by the ears at the Council table, arraigning one another of being guilty of the counsel that brought us into this misery, by laying up all the great ships. Mr. Hater tells me at noon that some rude people have been, as he hears, at my Lord Chancellor's, where they have cut down the trees before his house and broke his windows; and a gibbet either set up before or painted upon his gate, and these three words writ: "Three sights to be seen, Dunkirk, Tangier, and a barren Queen." It gives great matter of talk that it is said there is at this hour in the Exchequer as much money as is ready to break down the floor. This arises, I believe, from Sir G. Downing's late talk of the greatness of the sum lying there of people's money, that they would not fetch away, which he showed me and a great many others. Most people that I speak with are in doubt how we shall do to secure our seamen from running over to the Dutch, which is a sad but very true consideration at this day. At noon I am told that my Lord Duke of Albemarle is made Lord High Constable, the meaning whereof at this time I know not, nor whether it be true or no. Dined, and Mr. ~~Hater~~ and W. Hewer with me, where they do speak very sorrowfully of the posture of the times, and how people do cry out in the streets of

their being bought and sold; and both they, and every-body that come to me, do tell me that people make nothing of talking treason in the streets openly: as, that they are bought and sold and governed by Papists, and that we are betrayed by people about the King, and shall be delivered up to the French, and I know not what. At dinner we discoursed of Tom of the Wood, a fellow that lives like a hermit near Woolwich, who, as they say, and Mr. Bodham, they tell me, affirms that he was by at the Justice's when some did accuse him there for it, did foretell the burning of the City, and now says that a greater desolation is at hand. Thence we read and laughed at Lilly's prophecies this month, in his Almanack this year. So to the office after dinner; and thither comes Mr. Pierce, who tells me his condition, how he cannot get his money, about £500, which, he says, is a very great part of what he hath for his family and children, out of Viner's hand: and indeed it is to be feared that this will wholly undo the bankers. He says he knows nothing of the late affronts to my Lord Chancellor's house, as is said, nor hears of the Duke of Albemarle's being made High Constable; but says that they are in great distraction at Whitehall, and that everywhere people do speak high against Sir W. Coventry; but he agrees with me, that he is the best Minister of State ~~the King~~ hath, and so from my heart I believe. At night came home Sir W. Batten and W. Pen, who only can tell me that they

have placed guns at Woolwich and Deptford, and sunk some ships below Woolwich and Blackwall, and are in hopes that they will stop the enemy's coming up. But strange our confusion! that among them that are sunk they have gone and sunk without consideration the *Franklin*, one of the King's ships, with stores to a very considerable value, that hath been long laden for supply of the ships; and the new ship at Bristol, and much wanted there; and nobody will own that they directed it, but do lay it on Sir W. Rider. They speak also of another ship, laden to the value of £80,000, sunk with the goods in her, or at least was mightily contended for by him, and a foreign ship, that had the faith of the nation for her security: this Sir R. Ford tells us. And it is too plain a truth, that both here and at Chatham the ships that we have sunk have many, and the first of them, been ships completely fitted for fire-ships at great charge. But most strange the backwardness and disorder of all people, especially the King's people in pay, to do any work, Sir W. Pen tells me, all crying out for money; and it was so at Chatham, that this night comes an order from Sir W. Coventry to stop the pay of the wages of that yard; the Duke of Albemarle having related, that not above three of 1,100 in pay there did attend to do any work there. This evening having sent a messenger to Chatham on purpose, we have received a dull letter from my Lord Brouncker and Peter Pett, how matters have

gone there this week; but not so much, or so particularly, as we knew it by common talk before, and as true. I doubt they will be found to have been but slow men in this business; and they say the Duke of Albemarle did tell my Lord Brouncker to his face that his discharging of the great ships there was the cause of all this; and I am told that it is become common talk against my Lord Brouncker. But in that he is to be justified, for he did it by verbal order from Sir W. Coventry, and with good intent; and it was to good purpose, whatever the success be, for the men would have but spent the King so much the more in wages, and yet not attended on board to have done the King any service; and as an evidence of that, just now, being the 15th day in the morning that I am writing yesterday's passages, one is with me, Jacob Bryan, purser of the *Princess*, who confesses to me that he hath but 180 men borne at this day in victuals and wages on that ship lying at Chatham, being lately brought in thither; of which 180 there was not above five appeared to do the King any service at this late business. And this morning also, some of the *Cambridge's* men came up from Portsmouth, by order from Sir Fretcheville Hollis, who boasted to us the other day that he had sent for 50, and would be hanged if 100 did not come up that would do as much as twice the number of other men: I say some of them, instead of being at work at Deptford, where they were intended, do

come to the office this morning to demand the payment of their tickets; for otherwise they would, they said, do no more work; and are, as I understand from everybody that has to do with them, the most debauched, damning, swearing rogues that ever were in the navy, just like their profane commander. Home, being at pretty good ease by a letter from my wife, brought by Saunders, that my father and wife got well last night to their inn and out again this morning, and Gibson's being got safe to Caxton at twelve last night.

15th. All the morning at the office. No news more than last night; only Purser Tyler comes and tells me that he being at all the passages in this business at Chatham, he says there have been horrible miscarriages, such as we shall shortly hear of; that the want of boats hath undone us; and it is commonly said, and Sir J. Minnes under his hand tells us, that they were employed by the men of the yard to carry away their goods; and I hear that Commissioner Pett will be found the first man that began to remove; he is much spoken against, and Brouncker is complained of and reproached for discharging the men of the great ships heretofore. At noon Mr. Hater dined with me; and tells me he believes that it will hardly be the want of money alone that will excuse to the Parliament the neglect of not setting out a fleet, it having never been done in our greatest straits, but however unlikely it appeared, yet when it was gone about, the State or King

did compass it; and there is something in it. At night comes, unexpectedly so soon, Mr. Gibson, who left my wife well, and all got down well with them, but not with himself, which I was afraid of, and cannot blame him, but must myself be wiser against another time. He had one of his bags broke, through his breeches, and some pieces dropped out, not many, he thinks, but two, for he light, and took them up, and went back and could find no more. But I am not able to tell how many, which troubles me; but the joy of having the greatest part safe there makes me bear with it, so as not to afflict myself for it. Home and to my flageolet. Played with pleasure, but with a heavy heart, only it pleased me to think how it may please God I may live to spend my time in the country with plainness and pleasure, though but with little glory.

16th. (Lord's day.) Comes Roger Pepys and his son Talbot, whom he had brought to town to settle at the Temple, but, by reason of our present stirs, will carry him back again with him this week. He seems to be but a silly lad. I sent them to church this morning. Roger Pepys told me that when I come to his house he will show me a decree in Chancery, wherein there was twenty-six men all house-keepers in the town of Cottenham, in Queen Elizabeth's time, of our name. By-and-by occasion offered for my writing to Sir W. Coventry a plain bold letter touching lack of money; which, when it was gone, I was afraid might



giv<sup>e</sup> offence; but upon two or three readings over again the copy of it, I was satisfied it was a good letter; only Sir W. Batten signed it with me, which I could wish I had done alone.

17th. Every moment business of one kind or other about the fire-ships and other businesses, most of them vexatious for want of money; the commanders all complaining that, if they miss to pay their men a night, they run away; seamen demanding money of them by way of advance; and some of Sir Fretcheville Hollis's men, that he bragged of, demanding their tickets to be paid, or they would not work; this Hollis, Sir W. Batten and W. Pen say, proves a conceited, idle, prating, lying fellow. Captain Cocke tells me there have been great endeavours of bringing in the Presbyterian interest, but that it will not do. He named to me several of the insipid lords that are to command the armies that are to be raised. He says the King and Court are all troubled, and the gates of the Court were shut upon the first coming of the Dutch to us, but they do mind the business no more than ever; that the bankers, he fears, are broke as to ready money, though Viner had £100,000 by him when our trouble began; that he and the Duke of Albemarle have received into their own hands, of Viner, the former £10,000 and the latter £12,000, in ~~talks~~ <sup>talks</sup> or assignments, to secure what was in his hands of theirs; and many other great men of our masters have done the like; which is no good

sign, when they begin to fear the main. He and everybody cries out of the office of the Ordnance for their neglects, both at Gravesend and Upnor, and everywhere else. This night, late, comes a porter with a letter from Monsieur Pratt, to borrow £100 for my Lord Hinchinbroke, to enable him to go out with his troop in the country, as he is commander; but I did find an excuse to decline it. Among other reasons to myself, this is one, to teach him the necessity of being a good husband, and keeping money or credit by him. ;

18th. To the office, and by-and-by word was brought me that Commissioner Pett is brought to the Tower, and there laid up close prisoner; which puts me into a fright, lest they may do the same with us as they do with him. Great news to-night of the blowing up of one of the Dutch's greatest ships, while a council of war was on board; the latter part, I doubt, is not so, it not being confirmed since; but the former, that they had a ship blown up, is said to be true. This evening comes Sir G. Carteret to the office, to talk of business at Sir W. Batten's; where all to be undone for want of money, there being none to pay the chest at their public pay the 24th of this month, which will make us a scorn to the world. After he had done there, he and I into the garden and walked; and the greatest of our discourse is, his sense of the requisiteness of his parting with his being Treasurer of the navy, if he can, on any good terms. He do harp upon getting my Lord

Brouncker to take it on half profit, but that he is not able to secure him in paying him so much. My Lady Jem goes down to Hinchinbroke to lie down, because of the troubles of the times here. He tells me now the great question is, whether a Parliament or no Parliament; and says the Parliament itself cannot be thought able at present to raise money, and therefore it will be to no purpose to call one.

19th. Comes an order from Sir R. Browne, commanding me this afternoon to attend the Council Board, with all my books and papers touching the Medway. I was ready to fear some mischief to myself, though it appears most reasonable that it is to inform them about Commissioner Pett; and so took coach and to the Council Chamber lobby, where I met Mr. Evelyn. While we were discoursing over our public misfortunes I am called in to a large Committee of the Council; present the Duke of Albemarle, Anglesey, Arlington, Ashly, Carteret, Duncomb, Coventry, Ingram, Clifford, Lauderdale, Morrice, Manchester, Craven, Carlisle, Bridgewater. And after Sir W. Coventry's telling them what orders His Royal Highness had made for the safety of the Medway, I told them to their full content what we had done, and showed them our letters. Then was Peter Pett called in, with the Lieutenant of the Tower. He is in his old clothes, and looked most sillily. His charge was chiefly the not carrying up of the great ships, and the using of the boats in carrying

away his goods: to which he answered very sillily, though his faults to me seem only great omissions. Lord Arlington and Coventry very severe against him: the former saying that if he was not guilty, the world would think them all guilty. The latter urged that there must be some faults, and that the Admiral must be found to have done his part. I did say an unhappy word, which I was sorry for, when he complained of want of ears for the boats; and there was, it seems, enough, and good enough, to carry away all the boats with from the king's occasions. He said he used never a boat till they were all gone but one; and that was to carry away things of great value, and these were his models of ships; which, when the Council, some of them, had said they wished that the Dutch had had them instead of the King's ships, he answered, he did believe the Dutch would have made more advantage of the models than of the ships, and that the King had had greater loss thereby; this they all laughed at. After having heard him for an hour or more, they bid him withdraw. He being gone, they caused Sir Richard Browne to read over his minutes; and then my Lord Arlington moved that they might be put into my hands to put into form, I being more acquainted with such business; and they were so. So I away back with my books and papers; and when I got out into the court it was pretty to see how people gazed upon me, that I thought myself obliged to salute people and to

smile, lest they should think I was a prisoner too; but afterwards I found that most did take me to be there to bear evidence against P. Pett; but my fear was such, at my going in, of the success of the day, that I did think fit to give T. Hater, whom I took with me, to wait the event, my closet-key and directions where to find £500 and more in silver and gold, and my tallies, to remove in case of any misfortune to me. Home, and after being there a little, my wife come and two of her fellow-travellers with her, with whom we drank; a couple of merchant-like men, I think, but have friends in our country. They being gone, my wife did give so bad an account of her and my father's method in burying of our gold, that made me mad; and she herself is not pleased with it, she believing that my sister knows of it. My father and she did it on Sunday, when they were gone to church, in open daylight, in the midst of the garden, where, for aught they knew, many eyes might see them; which put me into trouble, and I presently cast about how to have it back again to secure it here, the times being a little better now.

20<sup>th</sup>. Mr. Barber told me that all the discourse yesterday, about that part of the town where he was, was that Mr. Pett and I were in the Tower, and I did hear the same before. Busy all the afternoon; in the evening did treat with, and in the end agree, but by some kind of compulsion, with the owners of six

merchant ships, to serve the King as men-of-war. But, Lord! to see how against the hair it is with these men and everybody to trust us and the King; and how unreasonable it is to expect they should be willing to lend their ships, and lay out £200 or £300 a man to fit their ships for the new voyages, when we have not paid them half of what we owe them for their old services! I did write so to Sir W. Coventry this night.

21st. My wife shows me a letter from her father, who is going over sea, and this afternoon would take his leave of her. I sent him by her three Jacobuses in gold, having real pity for him and her. This day comes news from Harwich that the Dutch fleet are all in sight, near 100 sail great and small, they think, coming towards them; where, they think, they shall be able to oppose them; but do cry out of the falling back of the seamen, few standing by them, and those with much faintness. The like they write from Portsmouth, and their letters this post are worth reading. Sir H. Cholmly come to me this day, and tells me the Court is as mad as ever; and that the night the Dutch burned our ships the King did sup with my Lady Castlemaine, at the Duchess of Monmouth's, and there were all mad in hunting of a poor moth. All the Court afraid of a Parliament, but he thinks nothing can save us but the King's giving up all to a Parliament.

22nd. In the evening come Captain Hart and

Haywood to me about the six merchant ships now taken up for men-of-war; and in talk they told me about the taking of the *Royal Charles*; that nothing but carelessness lost the ship, for they might have saved her the very tide that the Dutch come up, if they would have but used means and had but boats; and that the want of boats plainly lost all the other ships. That the Dutch did take her with a boat of nine men, who found not a man on board her, and her laying so near them was a main temptation to them to come on; and presently a man went up and struck a flag and jack, and a trumpeter sounded upon her "Joan's placket is torn;" that they did carry her down at a time, both for tides and wind, when the best pilot in Chatham would not have undertaken it, they heeling her on one side to make her draw little water, and so carried her away safe. They being gone, by-and-by comes Sir W. Pen, who hath been at Court; and in the first place, I hear the Duke of Cambridge is dead; which is a great loss to the nation, having, I think, never an heir male now of the King's or Duke's to succeed to the crown. He tells me that they do begin already to damn the Dutch, and call them cowards at Whitehall, and think of them and their business no better than they used to do; which is very sad. The King did tell him himself, which is so, I was told here in the City, that the City hath lent him £10,000 to be laid out towards securing of the river of Thames; which, methinks, is

a very poor thing, that we should be induced to borrow by such mean sums. He tells me that it is most manifest that one great thing making it impossible for us to have set out a fleet this year, if we could have done it for money or stores, was the liberty given the beginning of the year for the setting out of merchantmen, which did take up, as is said, above ten if not fifteen thousand seamen; and this appears in the council books.

23rd. (Lord's day.) To my chamber, and there all the morning reading in my Lord Coke's pleas of the Crown, very fine and noble reading. To Woolwich, and there called on Mr. Bodham: and he and I to see the batteries newly raised; which, indeed, are good works to command the river below the ships that are sunk, but not above them. It is a sad sight to see so many good ships there sunk in the river, while we would be thought to be masters of the sea. Cocke says the bankers cannot, till peace returns, ever hope to have credit again; so that they can pay no more money, but people must be contented to take public security such as they can give them; and if so, and they do live to receive the money thereupon, the bankers will be happy men. Fenn read me an order of Council passed the 17th instant, directing all the Treasurers of any part of the King's revenue to make no payments but such as shall be approved by the present Lords Commissioners; which will, I think, spoil



the credit of all his Majesty's service, when people cannot depend upon payment anywhere. But the King's declaration in behalf of the bankers, to make good their assignments for money, is very good, and will, I hope, secure me. Cocke says that he hears it is come to it now that the King will try what he can soon do for a peace; and if he cannot, that then he will cast all upon the Parliament to do as they see fit: and in doing so, perhaps, he may save us all. The King of France, it is believed, is engaged for this year, so that we shall be safe as to him. The great misery the City and kingdom is like to suffer for want of coals in a little time is very visible, and, is feared, will breed a mutiny; for we are not in any prospect to command the sea for our colliers to come, but rather, it is feared, the Dutch may go and burn all our colliers at Newcastle; though others do say that they lie safe enough there. No news at all of late from Bredah what our Treators do. In the evening comes Mr. Povy about business; and he and I to walk in the garden an hour or two, and to talk of State matters. He tells me his opinion that it is out of possibility for us to escape being undone, there being nothing in our power to do that is necessary for the saving us; a lazy Prince, no Council, no money, no reputation at home or abroad. He says that to this day the King do follow the women as much as ever he did; that the Duke of York hath not got Mrs. Middleton, as I

was told the other day : but says that he wants not her, for he hath others, and hath always had, and that he [Povy] hath known them brought through the Matted Gallery at Whitehall into his [the Duke's] closet; that Mr. Brouncker is not the only pimp, but that the whole family are of the same strain, and will do anything to please him; that besides the death of the two Princes lately, the family is in horrible disorder by being in debt by spending above £60,000 per annum, when he hath not £40,000; that the Duchess is not only the proudest woman in the world, but the most expensful; and that the Duke of York's marriage with her hath undone the kingdom, by making the Chancellor so great above reach, who otherwise would have been but an ordinary man, to have been dealt with by other people; and he would have been careful of managing things well, for fear of being called to account; whereas now he is secure, and hath let things run to rack, as they now appear. That at a certain time Mr. Povy did carry him an account of the state of the Duke of York's estate, showing in faithfulness how he spent more than his estate would bear, by above £20,000 per annum, and asked my Lord's opinion to it; to which he answered, that no man that loved the King or kingdom durst own the writing of that paper; at which Povy was startled, and reckoned himself undone for this good service, and found it necessary then to show it to the

Duke of York's Commissioners; who read, examined, and approved of it, so as to cause it to be put into form, and signed it, and gave it to the Duke. Now the end of the Chancellor was, for fear that his daughter's ill housewifery should be condemned. He [Povy] tells me that the other day, upon this ill news of the Dutch being upon us, Whitehall was shut up, and the Council called and sat close; and by the way, he do assure me, from the mouth of some Privy Councillors, that at this day the Privy Council in general do know no more what the state of the kingdom as to peace and war is, than he or I; nor who manages it, nor upon whom it depends; and there my Lord Chancellor did make a speech to them, saying that they knew well that he was no friend to the war from the beginning, and therefore had concerned himself little in, nor could say much to it; and a great deal of that kind, to discharge himself of the fault of the war. Upon which my Lord Anglesey rose up, and told his Majesty that he thought their coming now together was not to inquire who was, or was not, the cause of the war, but to inquire what was, or could be, done in the business of making a peace, and in whose hands that was, and where it was stopped or forwarded; and went on very highly to have all made open to them: and, by the way, I remember that Captain Cocke did the other day tell me that this Lord Anglesey hath said, within few days, that he would willingly give

£14,000 of his estate that he was well secured of the rest, such apprehensions he hath of the sequel of things, as giving all over for lost. He tells me, speaking of the horrid effeminacy of the King, that the King hath taken ten times more care and pains in making friends between my Lady Castlemaine and Mrs. Stewart, when they have fallen out, than ever he did to give his kingdom; nay, that upon any falling out between my Lady Castlemaine's nurse and her woman, my Lady hath often said she would make the King to make them friends, and they would be friends and be quiet; which the King hath been fain to do: that the King is, at this day, every night in Hyde Park with the Duchess of Monmouth, or with my Lady Castlemaine: that he [Povy] is concerned of late by my Lord Arlington in the looking after some buildings that he is about in Norfolk, where my Lord is laying out a great deal of money; and that he [Mr. Povy], considering the unsafeness of laying out money at such a time as this, and, besides, the enviousness of the particular county, as well as all the kingdom, to find him building and employing workmen, while all the ordinary people of the country are carried down to the sea-sides for securing the land, he thought it becoming him to go to my Lord Arlington (Sir Thomas Clifford by), and give it as his advice to hold his hands a little; but my Lord would not, but would have him go on, and so Sir Thomas Clifford advised

want of seamen and seamen's running away, and their demanding a month's advance, and our being forced to give seamen three shillings a day to go hence to work at Chatham, and other things that show nothing but destruction upon us; for it is certain that, as it now is, the seamen of England, in my conscience, would, if they could, go over and serve the King of France or Holland rather than us. Up to the Duke of York to his chamber, where he seems to be pretty easy, and now and then merry; but yet one may perceive in all their minds there is something of trouble and care, and with good reason. Thence to Whitehall with Sir W. Pen by chariot, and there in the court met with my Lord Anglesey; and he to talk with Sir W. Pen, and told him of the masters of the ships being with the Council yesterday, and that we were not in condition, though the men were willing, to furnish them with £200 of money, already due to them as earned by them the last year, to enable them to set out their ships again this year for the King, which he is amazed at; and when I told him, "My Lord, this is a sad instance of the condition we are in," he answered that it was so indeed, and sighed, and so parted; and he up to the Council chamber, where I perceive they sit every morning. It is worth noting that the King and Council, in their order of the 23rd instant, for unloading three merchant ships taken up for the King's service for men-of-war, do call the late coming of the

I find that he and his fellow-treasurers are in the utmost want of money, and do find fault with Sir G. Carteret, that, having kept the mystery of borrowing money to himself so long, to the ruin of the nation, as Sir W. Coventry said in words to Sir W. Pen and me, he should now lay it aside and come to them for money for every penny he hath, declaring that he can raise no more, which, I confess, do appear to me the most like ill-will of anything that I have observed of Sir W. Coventry, when he himself did tell us, on another occasion at the same time, that the bankers who used to furnish them money are not able to lend a farthing, and he knows well enough that that was all the mystery Sir G. Carteret did use, that is, only his credit with them. He told us the masters and owners of the two ships that I had complained of for not readily setting forth their ships, which we had taken up to make men-of-war, had been yesterday with the King and Council, and had made their case so well understood, that the King did owe them for what they had earned the last year, and that they could not set them out again without some money or stores out of the King's yard; the latter of which Sir W. Coventry said must be done, for that they were not able to raise money for them, though it was but £200 a ship: which do show us our condition to be so bad, that I am in a total despair of ever having the nation do well. After that talking awhile, and all out of heart with stories of

want of seamen and seamen's running away, and their demanding a month's advance, and our being forced to give seamen three shillings a day to go hence to work at Chatham, and other things that show nothing but destruction upon us; for it is certain that, as it now is, the seamen of England, in my conscience, would, if they could, go over and serve the King of France or Holland rather than us. Up to the Duke of York to his chamber, where he seems to be pretty easy, and now and then merry; but yet one may perceive in all their minds there is something of trouble and care, and with good reason. Thence to Whitehall with Sir W. Pen by chariot, and there in the court met with my Lord Anglesey; and he to talk with Sir W. Pen, and told him of the masters of the ships being with the Council yesterday, and that we were not in condition, though the men were willing, to furnish them with £200 of money, already due to them as earned by them the last year, to enable them to set out their ships again this year for the King, which he is amazed at; and when I told him, "My Lord, this is a sad instance of the condition we are in," he answered that it was so indeed, and sighed, and so parted; and he up to the Council chamber, where I perceive they sit every morning. It is worth noting that the King and Council, in their order of the 23rd instant, for unloading three merchant ships taken up for the King's service for men-of-war, do call the late coming of the

Dutch "an invasion." I was told yesterday that Mr. Oldenburg, our secretary at Gresham College, is put into the Tower for writing news to a virtuoso in France, with whom he constantly corresponds in philosophical matters, which makes it very unsafe at this time to write or almost do anything. Several captains come to the office yesterday and to-day, complaining that their men come and go when they will, and will not be commanded, though they are paid every night, or may be. Nay, this afternoon comes Harry Russell from Gravesend, telling us that the money carried down yesterday for the Chest at Chatham had like to have been seized upon yesterday, in the barge there, by seamen, who did beat our watermen, and what men should these be but the boat's crew of Sir Fretcheville Hollis, who used to brag so much of the goodness and order of his men, and his command over them. Sir H. Cholmly tells me great news; that this day in Council the King hath declared that he will call his Parliament in thirty days, which is the best news I have heard a great while, and will, if anything, save the kingdom. How the King come to be advised to this I know not, but he tells me that it was against the Duke of York's mind flatly, who did rather advise the King to raise money as he pleased, and against the Chancellor's, who told the King that Queen Elizabeth did do all her business in eighty-eight without calling a Parliament, and so might he do, for anything he



saw. But, blessed be God! it is done; and pray God it may hold, though some of us must surely go to the pot, for all must be flung up to them, or nothing will be done.

26th. The Parliament is ordered to meet the 25th of July, being, as they say, St. James's Day; which every creature is glad of. Walking to the Old Swan, I met Sir Thomas Harvy, whom, asking the news of the Parliament's meeting, he told me it was true, and they would certainly make a great rout among us. I answered, I did not care for my part, though I was ruined, so that the Commonwealth might escape ruin by it. He answered, "That is a good one, in faith; for you know yourself to be secure, in being necessary to the office; but for my part," says he, "I must look to be removed; but then," says he, "I doubt not but I shall have amends made me; for all the world knows upon what terms I came in;" which is a saying that a wise man would not unnecessarily have said, I think to anybody, meaning his buying his place of my Lord Barkely [of Stratton]. Colonel Reymes tells me of a letter come last night, or the day before, from my Lord St. Albans, out of France, wherein he says that the King of France did lately fall out with him, giving him ill names, saying that he had belied him to our King, by saying that he had promised to assist our King and to forward the peace; saying that, indeed, he had offered to forward the peace at such

a time, but it was not accepted of, and so he thinks himself not obliged, and would do what was fit for him; and so made him to go out of his sight in great displeasure, and he hath given this account to the King, which, Colonel Reymes tells me, puts them into new melancholy at Court, and he believes hath forwarded the resolution of calling the Parliament. At Whitehall spied Mr. Povy, who tells me, as a great secret, which none knows but himself, that Sir G. Carteret hath parted with his place of treasurer of the Navy, by consent, to my Lord Anglesey, and is to be treasurer of Ireland in his stead; but upon what terms it is I know not, and that it is in his power to bring me to as great a friendship and confidence in my Lord Anglesey as ever I was with Sir W. Coventry. Such is the want already of coals, and the despair of having any supply, by reason of the enemy's being abroad, and no fleet of ours to secure them, that they are come this day to £5 10s. per chaldron.

27th. Wakened this morning about three o'clock, by a letter from Sir W. Coventry to W. Penn, that the Dutch are come up to the Nore again, and he knows not whether farther or no. Horrible trouble with the backwardness of the merchants to let us have their ships, and seamen's running away, and not to be got or kept without money. Proclamations come out this day for the Parliament to meet the 25th of next month, for which God be praised! and another to

invite seamen to bring in their complaints, of their being ill-used in the getting their tickets and money. Pierce tells me that he hears for certain fresh at Court that France and we shall agree; and more, that yesterday was damned at the Council, the Canary Company; and also that my Lord Mordaunt hath laid down his commission. Pierce tells me that all the town do cry out of our office for a pack of foofs; but says that everybody speaks either well, or at least the best of me. But he tells me how Matt. Wren should say that he was told that I should say that W. Coventry was guilty of the miscarriage at Chatham, though I myself, as he confesses, did tell him otherwise, and that it was wholly Pett's fault. He hath rectified Wren in his belief of this, and so all is well. News this time that about eighty sail of the Dutch, great and small, were seen coming up the river this morning; and this some of them to the upper end of the Hope.

28th. Sir W. Batten is come to town: I to see him; he is very ill of his fever, and come only for advice. Sir J. Mines, I hear also, is very ill all this night, worse than before. We find the Duke of York and Sir W. Coventry gone this morning, by two o'clock, to Chatham, to come home to-night; and it is fine to observe how both the King and Duke of York have, in their several late journeys to and again, done them in the night, for coolness. To Sir G.

Carteret, and I dined with my Lady and good company, and good dinner. My Lady and the family in very good humour upon this business of his parting with his place of Treasurer of the Navy, which I perceive they do own. They tell me that the Duke of Buckingham hath surrendered himself to Secretary Morrice, and is going to the Tower. Mr. Fenn, at the table, says that he hath been taken by the watch two or three times of late, at unseasonable hours, but so disguised that they could not know him: and when I come home by-and-by, Mr. Lowther tells me that the Duke of Buckingham do dine publicly this day at Wadlow's, at the Sun Tavern; and is mightily merry, and sent word to the Lieutenant of the Tower that he would come to him as soon as he had dined. Now, how sad a thing it is, when we come to make sport of proclaiming men traitors, and banishing them, and putting them out of their offices, and Privy Council, and of sending to and going to the Tower: God have mercy on us! At table my Lady and Sir Philip Carteret have great and good discourse of the greatness of the present King of France—what great things he hath done, that a man may pass, at any hour of the night, all over that wild city [Paris], with a purse in his hand and no danger: that there is not a beggar to be seen in it, nor dirt lying in it; that he hath married two of Colbert's daughters to two of the greatest princes of France, and given them portions—

bought the greatest dukedom in France, and given it to Colbert; and ne'er a prince in France dare whisper against it, whereas here our King cannot do any such thing, but everybody's mouth is open against him for it, and the man that hath the favour also. That to several commanders that had not money to set them out to the present campaign, he did of his own accord send them £1,000 sterling a-piece to equip themselves. But then they did enlarge upon the slavery of the people—that they are taxed more than the real estates they have, nay, it is an ordinary thing for people to desire to give the King all their land that they have, and themselves become only his tenants, and pay him rent for the full value for it: so they may have but their earnings. But this will not be granted; but he shall give the value of his rent and part of his labour too. That there is not a petty governor of a province—nay, of a town—but he will take the daughter from the richest man in the town under him, that hath got anything, and give her to his footman for a wife if he pleases, and the King of France will do the like to the best man in his kingdom—take his daughter from him, and give her to his footman, or whom he pleases. It is said that he do make a sport of us now; and says, that he knows no reason why his cousin, the King of England, should not be as willing to let him have his kingdom, as that the Dutch should take it from him. Sir G. Carteret did tell me that the

business was done between him and my Lord Anglesey; that himself is to have the other's place of Deputy Treasurer of Ireland, which is a place of honour and great profit, being far better than the Treasurer's, my Lord of Cork's, and to give the other his, of Treasurer of the Navy; that the King, at his earnest entreaty, did with much unwillingness, but with owning of great obligations to him, for his faithfulness and long service to him and his father, grant his desire. My Lord Chancellor, I perceive, is his friend in it. I remember I did in the morning tell Sir H. Cholmly of this business: and he answered me he was sorry for it; for, whatever Sir G. Carteret was, he is confident my Lord Anglesey is one of the greatest knaves in the world. Home, and there find my wife making of tea; a drink which Mr. Pelling, the apothecary, tells her is good for her cold and defluxions. To Sir W. Batten's, to see how he did; and he is better than he was. He told me how Mrs. Lowther had her train held up yesterday by her page, at his house in the country; which is ridiculous. Mr. Pelling told us the news of the town: how the officers of the navy are cried out upon, and a great many greater men; but do think that I shall do well enough; and I think, if I have justice, I shall. We hear that the Dutch are gone down again; and, thanks be to God! the trouble they give us this second time is not very considerable.

29th. My cousin Thomas Pepys, of Hatcham, come to see me, and he thinks nothing but a union of religious interests will ever settle us; and I do think that, and the Parliament's taking the whole management of things into their hands, and severe inquisitions into our miscarriages, will help us. To my wife, to whom I now propose the going to Chatham, who, mightily pleased with it, sent for Mercer to go with her, but she could not go, having friends at home; and the poor wretch was contented to stay at home, on condition to go to Epsom next Sunday. Talking with Sir W. Batten, he did give me an account how ill the King and Duke of York was advised to send orders for our frigates and fire-ships to come from Gravesend, soon as ever news come of the Dutch being returned into the river, wherein no seaman, he believes, was advised with; for, says he, we might have done just as Warwick did, when he, W. Batten, come with the King and the like fleet, in the late wars, into the river; for Warwick did not run away from them, but sailed before them when they sailed, and come to anchor when they come to anchor, and always kept in a small distance from them: so as to be able to take every opportunity of any of their ships running aground, or change of wind, or anything else, to his advantage. So might we have done with our fire-ships, and we have lost an opportunity of taking or burning a good ship of theirs, which was run aground about Holehaven,

I think he said, with the wind so as their ships could not get her away; but we might have done what we would with her, and, it may be, done them mischief, too, with the wind.

30th. (Lord's day.) Up about three o'clock, and Creed and I got ourselves ready, and took coach at our gate, it being very fine weather, and the cool of the morning, and with much pleasure, without any stop, got to Rochester about ten of the clock. At the landing place, I met my Lord Brouncker and my Lord Douglas, and all the officers of the soldiers in the town, waiting there for the Duke of York, who they heard was coming. By-and-by comes my Lord Middleton, well mounted: he seems a fine soldier, and so everybody says he is; and a man like my Lord Teviott, and indeed most of the Scotch gentry, as I observe, of few words. After seeing the boats come up from Chatham, with them that rode with bandeleers about their shoulders and muskets in their boats, they being the workmen of the yard, who have promised to redeem their credit, lost by their deserting the service when the Dutch were there; I and Creed down by boat to Chatham Yard. Thence to see the batteries made, which, indeed, are very fine, and guns placed so as one would think the river should be very secure. I was glad, as also it was new to me, to see so many fortifications as I have of late seen, and so up to the top of the Hill there to look, and could see towards Sheerness to



spy the Dutch fleet, but could make out none but one vessel, they being all gone. Here I was told that, in all the late attempt, there was but one man that they knew killed on shore: and that was a man that had laid upon his belly upon one of the hills on the other side of the river to see the action, and a bullet come, and so he was killed. Thence back to the dock, and in my way saw how they are fain to take the deals of the rope-house to supply other occasions, and how sillily the country troopers look that stand upon the passes there; and, methinks, as if they were more willing to run away than to fight, and it is said that the country soldiers did first run at Sheerness, but that then my Lord Douglas's men did run also; but it is excused that there was no defence for them towards the sea, that so the very beach did fly in their faces as the bullets come, and annoyed them, they having, after all this preparation of the officers of the ordnance, only done something towards the land, and nothing at all towards the sea. The people here everywhere do speak very badly of Sir Edward Spragge, as not behaving himself as he should have done in that business, going away with the first, and that old Captain Pyne, who, I am here told, and no sooner, is Master-Gunner of England, was the last that stayed there. Thence by barge, it raining hard, down to the chain; and in our way did see the sad wrecks of the poor *Royal Oak*, *James*, and *London*, and several other of our ships by

us sunk, and several of the enemy's, whereof three men-of-war that they could not get off, and so burned. I do not see that Upnor Castle hath received any hurt by them, though they played long against it; and they themselves shot till they had hardly a gun left upon the carriages, so badly provided they were: they have now made two batteries on that side, which will be very good, and do good service. So to the chain, and there saw it fast at the end on Upnor side of the river; very fast, and borne up upon the several stages across the river; and where it is broke nobody can tell me. I went on shore on Upnor side, to look upon the end of the chain; and caused the link to be measured, and it was six inches and one-fourth in circumference. It seems very remarkable to me, and of great honour to the Dutch, that those of them that did go on shore to Gillingham, though they went in fear of their lives, and were some of them killed; and, notwithstanding their provocation at Schelling, yet killed none of our people nor plundered their houses, but did take some things of easy carriage, and left the rest, and not a house burned; and, which is to our eternal disgrace, that what my Lord Douglas's men, who come after them, found there, they plundered and took all away; and the watermen that carried us did further tell us, that our own soldiers are far more terrible to those people of the country towns than the Dutch themselves. We were told at the batteries, upon my seeing of the

field-guns that were there, that, had they come a day sooner, they had been able to have saved all; but they had no orders, and lay lingering upon the way. Commissioner Pett's house was all unfurnished, he having carried away all his goods. I met with no satisfaction whereabouts the chain was broke, but do confess I met with nobody that I could well expect to have satisfaction from, it being Sunday, and the officers of the yard most of them abroad, or at the Hill house. Several complaints, I hear, of the *Monmouth's* coming away too soon from the chain, where she was placed with the two guard-ships to secure it; and Captain Robert Clerke, my friend, is blamed for so doing there, but I hear nothing of him at London about it; but Captain Brooke's running aground with the *Sancta Maria*, which was one of the three ships that were ordered to be sunk to have dammed up the river at the chain, is mightily cried against, and with reason. I find that here, as it hath been in our river, fire-ships, when fitted, have been sunk afterwards, and particularly those here at the Muscle, where they did no good at all. Our great ships that were run aground and sunk are all well raised but the *Vanguard*, which they go about to raise to-morrow. The *Henry*, being let loose to drive up the river of herself, did run up as high as the bridge, and broke down some of the rails of the bridge, and so back again with the tide, and up again, and then berthed himself so well as no pilot could ever have

done. Better; and Punnet says he would not, for his life, have undertaken to have done it, with all his skill. I find it is true that the Dutch did heel the *Charles* to get her down, and yet run aground twice or thrice and yet got her safe away, and have her, with a great many good guns in her, which none of our pilots would ever have undertaken. It is very considerable the quantity of goods, which the making of these platforms and batteries do take out of the King's stores: so that we shall have little left there, and, God knows! no credit to buy any. It is a strange thing to see that, while my Lords Douglas and Middleton do ride up and down upon single horses, my Lord Brouncker do go up and down with his hackney-coach and six horses at the King's charge. But I do not see that he hath any command over the seamen, he being affronted by three or four seamen before my very face, which he took sillily methought; and is not able to do so much good as a good boatswain in this business. Here in the streets I did hear the Scotch march beat by the drums before the soldiers, which is very odd. Then to our inn, where I hear my Lord Brouncker hath sent to speak with me: so I took his coach, which stands there with two horses, and to him, and to his bedside, where he was in bed, and hath a watchman with a halbert at his door; and to him, and did talk a little, and find him a very weak man for this business that he is upon; and do pity the King's service.

*July 1st.* We took coach, and, being very sleepy, drownd most part of the way to Gravesend, and there 'light, and down to the new batteries, which are like to be very fine, and there did hear a plain fellow cry out upon the folly of the King's officers above, to spend so much money in works at Woolwich and Deptford, and sinking of good ships laden with goods, when, if half the charge had been laid out here, it would have secured all that, and this place, too, before now. And I think it is not only true, but that the best of the actions of us all are so silly, that the meanest people do begin to see through them, and contemn them. Besides, says he, they spoil the river by it. We got home by noon, where all well. Then to the office, where I am sorry to hear that Sir J. Minnes is likely to die this night.

2nd. To the office, where W. Pen, and myself, and Sir T. Harvy met, the first time we have had a meeting since the coming of the Dutch upon this coast.

• 3rd. Sir Richard Ford tells us how he hath been at the Sessions House, and there it is plain that there is a combination of rogues in the town, that do make it their business to set houses on fire, and that one house they did set on fire in Aldersgate Street last Easter; and that this was proved by two young men, whom one of them debauched by degrees to steal their fathers' plate and clothes, and at last to be of their company; and they had their places to take up what goods were

flung into the streets out of the windows, when the houses were on fire; and this is like to be proved to a great number of rogues, whereof five are already found, and some found guilty. One of these boys is a son of a Montagu, of my Lord Manchester's family; but whose son he could not tell me. To the Council chamber, to deliver a letter to their Lordships about the state of the six merchantmen which we have been so long fitting out. When I come, the King and the whole table full of Lords were hearing of a pitiful cause of a complaint of an old man, with a great grey beard, against his son, for not allowing him something to live on; and at last come to the ordering the son to allow his father £10 a year. This cause lasted them near two hours; which, methinks, at this time to be the work of the Council Board of England, is a scandalous thing. Here I find all the news is the enemy's landing 8,000 men near Harwich, and attacking Landguard Fort, and being beat off thence with our great guns, killing some of their men, and they leaving their ladders behind them; but we had no Horse in the way on Suffolk side, otherwise we might have galled their Foot. The Duke of York is gone down thither this day, while the General sat sleeping this afternoon at the Council table.

4th. To the Sessions House, where I have a mind to hear Bazill Fielding's case tried; and so got up to the Bench, my Lord Chief-Justice Keeling being Judge.

Here I stood bare, not challenging, though I might well enough, to be covered. But here were several fine trials; among others, several brought in for making it their trade to set houses on fire merely to get plunder; and all proved by the two little boys spoken of yesterday by Sir R. Ford, who did give so good account of particulars that I never heard children in my life. And I confess, though I was unsatisfied with the force given to such little boys, to take away men's lives, yet, when I was told that my Lord Chief-Justice did declare that there was no law against taking the oath of children above twelve years old, and then heard from Sir R. Ford the good account which the boys had given of their understanding the nature and consequence of an oath, and now my own observation of the sobriety and readiness of their answers, further than of any man of any rank that come to give witness this day, though some men of years and learning, I was a little amazed, and fully satisfied that they ought to have as much credit as the rest. They proved against several, their consulting several times at a house in Moorfields, called the Russia House, among many other rogueries, of setting houses on fire, that they might gather the goods that were flung into the streets; and it is worth considering how unsafe it is to have children play up and down this lewd town. For these two boys, one my Lady Montagu's—I know not what Lady Montagu—son, and the other of good

condition, were playing in Moorfields, and one rogue, Gabriel Holmes, did come to them and teach them to drink, and then to bring him plate and clothes from their fathers' houses, and carry him into their houses, and leaving open the doors for him, and at last were made of their conspiracy, and were at the very burning of this house in Aldersgate Street, on Easter Sunday night last, and did gather up goods, as they had resolved before: and this Gabriel Holmes did advise to have had two houses set on fire, one after another, that, while they were quenching of one, they might be burning another. And it is pretty that G. Holmes did tell his fellows, and these boys swore it, that he did set fire to a box of linen in the Sheriff, Sir Joseph Sheldon's house, while he was attending the fire in Aldersgate Street, and the Sheriff himself said that there was a fire in his house, in a box of linen, at the same time, but cannot conceive how this fellow should do it. The boys did swear against one of them that he had made it his part to pull the plug out of the engine while it was a-playing; and it really was so. And goods they did carry away, and the manner of the setting the house on fire was, that Holmes did get to a cockpit, where, it seems, there was a public cockpit, and set fire to the straw in it, and hath a fire-ball at the end of the straw, which did take fire, and so it prevailed, and burned the house; and, among other things they carried away, he took



six of the cocks that were at the cockpit; and afterwards the boys told us how they had one dressed, by the same token it was so hard they could not eat it. But that which was most remarkable was the impudence of this Holmes, who hath been arraigned often, and still got away; and on this business was taken, and broke loose just at Newgate Gate; and was last night luckily taken about Bow, where he got loose, and run into the river, and hid himself in the rushes; and they pursued him with a dog, and the dog got him and held him till he was taken. But the impudence of the fellow was such, that he denied he ever saw the boys before, or ever knew the Russia House, or that the people knew him; and by-and-by the mistress of the Russia House was called in, being indicted, at the same time, about another thing; and she denied that the fellow was of her acquaintance, when it was pretty to see how the little boys did presently fall upon her, and ask her how she durst say so, when she was always with them when they met at her house, and particularly when she come in her smock before a dozen of them, at which the Court laughed, and put the woman away. Well, this fellow Holmes was found guilty of the act of burning the house, and other things, that he stood indicted for. And then there were other good cases, as of a woman that come to serve a gentlewoman, and in three days run away, betimes in the morning, with a great deal of plate and rings, and

other good things. It was time very well spent to be here. Here I saw how favourable the judge was to a young gentleman that struck one of the officers, for not making him room: told him he had endangered the loss of his hand, but that he hoped he had not struck him, and would suppose that he had not struck him. The Court then rose, and I to dinner with my Lord Mayor and Sheriffs; where a good dinner and good discourse, the Judge being there. There was also tried this morning Fielding, which I thought had been Bazill—but it proved the other, and Bazill was killed—that killed his brother, who was found guilty of murder, and nobody pitied him. The Judge seems to be a worthy man, and able: and do intend for these rogues that burned this house to be hung in some conspicuous place in the town, for an example.

5th. Sir G. Carteret did come to us. He told us that the Great Seal is passed to my Lord Anglesey for Treasurer of the navy: so that now he do no more belong to us: and I confess, for his sake, I am glad of it. No news, but that the Dutch are gone clear from Harwich northward, and have given out that they are going to Yarmouth.

6th. Mr. Williamson told me that Mr. Coventry is coming over with a project of a peace; which, if the States agree to, and our King, when their ministers on both sides have showed it them, we shall agree, and that is all; but the King, I hear, do give it out plain that

the peace is concluded. This day, with great satisfaction, I hear that my Lady Jemimah is brought to bed, at Hinchinbroke, of a boy.

7th. (Lord's day.) Mr. Moore tells me that the discontented Parliament men are fearful that the next sitting the King will try for a general excise, by which to raise him money, and then to fling off the Parliament, and raise a land army and keep them all down like slaves; and it is gotten among them, that Bab. May, the Privy Purse, had been heard to say that £300 a year is enough for any country gentleman; which makes them mad, and they do talk of £600,000 or £800,000 gone into the Privy purse this war, when in King James's time it arose but to £5,000, and in King Charles's but £10,000 in a year. He tells me that a goldsmith in town told him that, being with some plate with my Lady Castlemaine lately, she directed her woman (the great beauty) "Wilson," says she, "make a note for this, and for that, to the Privy purse for money." He tells me a little more of the baseness of the courses taken at Court in the case of Mr. Moyer, who is at liberty, and is to give £500 for his liberty; but now the great ones are divided, who shall have the money, the Duke of Albemarle on one hand, and another Lord on the other? and that it is fain to be decided by having the person's name put into the King's warrant for his liberty, at whose intercession the King shall own that he is set at liberty;

which is a most lamentable thing, that we do professedly own that we do these things, not for right and justice sake, but only to gratify this or that person about the King. God forgive us all! Busy till the evening, and then with my wife and Jane over to half-way house, a very good walk; and there drank, and in the cool of the evening back again, and sang with pleasure upon the water, and were mightily pleased in hearing a boatful of Spaniards sing. Jane of late mighty fine, by reason of a laced whisk her mistress hath given her, which makes her a very graceful servant. But, above all, my wife and I were the most surprised in the beauty of a plain girl, which we met in the little lane going from Redriffe Stairs into the fields, one of the prettiest faces that we think we ever saw in our lives.

8th. Mr. Coventry is come from Bredah, as was expected; but, contrary to expectation, brings with him two or three articles which do not please the King: as to retrench the Act of Navigation, and then to ascertain what are contraband goods: and then that those exiled persons, who are or shall take refuge in their country, may be secure from any further prosecution. Whether these will be enough to break the peace upon, or no, he cannot tell; but I perceive the certainty of peace is blown over. To Charing Cross, there to see the great boy and girl that are lately come out of Ireland, the latter eight, the former but four years old, of

most prodigious bigness for their age. I tried to weigh them in my arms, and find them twice as heavy as people almost twice their age; and yet I am apt to believe they are very young. Their father, a little sorry fellow, and their mother an old Irish woman. They have had four children of this bigness, and four of ordinary growth, whereof two of each are dead. If, as my Lord Ormond certifies, it be true that they are no older, it is very monstrous.

9th. This day my Lord Anglesey, our new Treasurer, come the first time to the Board; and I do perceive he is a very notable man, and understanding, and will do things regular, and understand them himself, not trust Fenn, as Sir G. Carteret did, and will solicit soundly [roundly?] for money, which I do fear was Sir G. Carteret's fault, that he did not do that enough, considering the age we live in. This evening comes news for certain that the Dutch are with their fleet before Dover, and that it is expected they will attempt something there. The business of the peace is quite dashed again.

12th. Met at Whitehall with Sir H. Cholmly, he telling me that undoubtedly the peace is concluded; for he did stand yesterday where he did hear part of the discourse at the Council table, and there did hear the King argue for it. Among other things, that the spirits of the seamen were down, and the forces of our enemies were grown too great and many

for us, and he would not have his subjects overpressed ;  
for he knows an Englishman would do as much as  
any man upon hopeful terms ; but where he sees he is  
overpressed, he despairs as soon as any other ; and,  
besides that, they have already such a load of dejection  
upon them, that they will not be in temper a good  
while again. He heard my Lord Chancellor say to  
the King, " Sir," says he, " the whole world do com-  
plain publicly of treachery, that things have been  
managed falsely by some of your great ministers.  
Sir," says he, " I am for your Majesty's falling into a  
speedy inquiry into the truth of it, and, where you  
meet with it, punish it. But, at the same time, con-  
sider what you have to do, and make use of your time  
for having a peace ; for more money will not be given  
without much trouble, nor is it, I fear, to be had of the  
people, nor will a little do it to put us into condition  
of doing our business." But the other day Sir H.  
Cholmly tells me he [the Chancellor] did say at his  
table, " Treachery !" says he : " I could wish we could  
prove there was anything of that sort in it ; for that  
would imply some wit and thoughtfulness ; but we are  
ruined merely by folly and neglect." And so they did  
all argue for peace, and so he do believe that the King  
hath agreed to the three points Mr. Coventry brought  
over, which I have mentioned before. The Duke of  
Buckingham was before the Council the other day,  
and there did carry it very submissively and pleasingly

to the King; but to my Lord Arlington, who did prosecute the business, he was most bitter and sharp, and very slighting. As to the letter about his employing a man to cast the King's nativity, says he to the King, "Sir, this is none of my hand, and I refer it to your Majesty whether you do not know this hand." The King answered, that it was indeed none of his, and that he knew whose it was, but could not recall it presently. "Why," says he, "it is my sister of Richmond's, some frolic or other of hers about some certain person; and there is nothing of the King's name in it, but it is only said to be his by supposition, as is said." The King, it seems, was not very much displeased with what the Duke had said; but, however, he is still in the Tower, and no discourse of his being out in haste, though my Lady Castlemaine hath so far solicited for him that the King and she are quite fallen out: he comes not to her, nor hath for some three or four days; and parted with very foul words, the King calling her a jade that meddled with things she had nothing to do with at all: and she calling him a fool; and told him if he was not a fool, he would not suffer his businesses to be carried on by fools that did not understand them, and cause his best subjects, and those best able to serve him, to be imprisoned; meaning the Duke of Buckingham. And it seems she was not only for his liberty, but to be restored to all his places; which, it is thought, he will never be. It

was computed that the Parliament had given the King for this war only, besides all prizes, and besides the £200,000 which he was to spend of his own revenue, to guard the sea above £5,000,000, and odd £100,000; which is a most prodigious sum. Sir H. Cholmly, as a true English gentleman, do decry the King's expenses of his Privy purse, which in King James's time [did not rise to above £5,000 a year, and in King Charles's to £10,000, do now cost us above £100,000, besides the great charge of the monarchy, as the Duke of York £100,000 of it, and other limbs of the Royal family, and the guards, which, for his part, says he, "I would have all disbanded, for the King is not the better by them, and would be as safe without them; for we have had no rebellions to make him fear anything." But, contrarily, he is now raising of a land army, which this Parliament and kingdom will never bear; besides, the commanders they put over them are such as will never be able to raise or command them; but the design is, and the Duke of York, he says, is hot for it, to have a land army, and so to make the Government like that of France. It is strange how everybody do nowadays reflect upon Oliver, and commend him, what brave things he did, and made all the neighbour princes fear him; while here a prince, come in with all the love and prayers and good liking of his people, who have given greater signs of loyalty and willingness to serve him with



their estates than ever was done by any people, hath lost all so soon, that it is a miracle what way a man could devise to lose so much in so little time. Sir Thomas Crewe tells me how I am mightily in esteem with the Parliament; their being harangues made in the House to the speaker, of Mr. Pepys's readiness and civility to show them everything.

13th. Mighty hot weather, I lying this night, which I have not done, I believe, since a boy, with only a rug and a sheet upon me. Mr. Pierce tells us what troubles me, that my Lord Buckhurst hath got Nell away from the King's house, and gives her £100 a year, so as she hath sent her parts to the house, and will act no more. And yesterday Sir Thomas Crewe told me that Lacy lies a-dying; nor will receive any ghostly advice from a bishop, an old acquaintance of his, that went to see him. My wife and I to the New Exchange, to pretty-made Mrs. Smith's shop, where I left my wife, and I mightily pleased with this Mrs. Smith, being a very pleasant woman. It is an odd and sad thing to say, that though this be a peace worse than we had before, yet everybody's fear almost is, that the Dutch will not stand by their promise, now the King hath consented to all they would have. And yet no wise man that I meet with, when he comes to think of it, but wishes, with all his heart, a war: but that the King is not a man to be trusted with the management of it. It was pleasantly said by a man in this city, a stranger, to one

that told him that the peace was concluded, "Well," says he, "and have you a peace?"—"Yes," says the other.—"Why, then," says he, "hold your peace!" partly reproaching us with the disgracefulness of it, that it is not fit to be mentioned; and next, that we are not able to make the Dutch keep it when they have a mind to break it. Sir Thomas Crewe yesterday, speaking of the King of France, how great a man he is, why, says he, all the world thought that when the last Pope died there would have been such bandying between the Crowns of France and Spain, whereas, when he was asked what he would have his ministers at Rome do, why, says he, let them choose who they will; if the Pope will do what is fit, the Pope and I will be friends. If he will not, I will take a course with him: therefore, I will not trouble myself; and thereupon the election was despatched in a little time—I think in a day—and all ended.

14th. (Lord's day.) Up, and my wife, a little before four, and to make us ready; and by-and-by Mrs. Turner come to us, by agreement, and she and I stayed talking below while my wife dressed herself, which vexed me that she was so long about it, keeping us till past five o'clock before she was ready. She ready; and, taking some bottles of wine, and beer, and some cold fowl with us into the coach, we took coach and four horses, which I had provided last night, and so away. A very fine day, and so towards Epsom, talking

all the way pleasantly, and particularly of the pride and ignorance of Mrs. Lowther, in having of her train carried up. The country very fine, only the way very dusty. To Epsom, by eight o'clock, to the well; where much company, and I drank the water: they did not, but I did drink four pints. And to the town, to the King's Head; and hear that my Lord Buckhurst and Nelly are lodged at the next house, and Sir Charles Sedley with them; and keep a merry house. Poor girl! I pity her; but more the loss of her at the King's house. W. Haver rode with us, and I left him and the women, and myself walked to the church, where few people to what I expected, and none I knew, but all the Houblons' brothers, and them after sermon I did salute, and walk with towards my inn. James did tell me that I was the only happy man of the Navy, of whom, he says, during all this freedom the people have taken to speaking treason, he hath not heard one bad word of me, which is a great joy to me; for I hear the same of others, but do know that I have deserved as well as most. We parted to meet anon, and I to my women into a better room, which the people of the house borrowed for us, and there to a good dinner, and were merry, and Pembleton come to us, who happened to be in the house, and there talked and were merry. After dinner, he gone, we all lay down, the day being wonderful hot, to sleep, and each of us took a good nap, and then rose; and here Tom Wilson come

to see me, and sat and talked an hour; and I perceive he hath been much acquainted with Dr. Fuller (Tom) and Dr. Pierson, and several of the great cavalier parsons during the late troubles; and I was glad to hear him talk of them, which he did very ingenuously, and very much of Dr. Fuller's art of memory, which he did tell me several instances of. By-and-by he parted, and we took coach and to take the air, there being a fine breeze abroad; and I carried them to the well, and there filled some bottles of water to carry home with me; and there I talked with the two women that farm the well, at £12 per annum, of the lord of the manor. Mr. Evelyn with his lady, and also my Lord George Barkeley's lady, and their fine daughter, that the King of France liked so well, and did dance so rich in jewels before the King at the ball I was at, at our Court, last winter, and also their son, a Knight of the Bath, were at church this morning. Here, W. Hewer's horse broke loose, and we had the sport to see him taken again. Then I carried them to see my cousin Pepys's house, and 'light, and walked round about it, and they like it, as indeed it deserves, very well, and is a pretty place; and then I walked them to the wood hard by, and there got them in the thickets till they had lost themselves, and I could not find the way into any of the walks in the wood, which, indeed, are very pleasant, if I could have found them. At last, got out of the wood again; and I, by leaping down the

little bank, coming out of the wood, did sprain my right foot, which brought me great present pain; but presently, with walking, it went away for the present, and so the women and W. Hewer and I walked upon the Downs, where a flock of sheep was; and the most pleasant and innocent sight that ever I saw in my life. We found a shepherd and his little boy reading, far from any houses or sight of people, the Bible to him; so I made the boy read to me, which he did, with the forced tone that children do usually read, that was mighty pretty, and then I did give him something, and went to the father, and talked with him; and I find he had been a servant in my cousin Pepys's house, and told me what was become of their old servants. He did content himself mightily in my liking his boy's reading, and did bless God for him, the most like one of the old patriarchs that ever I saw in my life, and it brought those thoughts of the old age of the world in my mind for two or three days after. We took notice of his woollen knit stockings of two colours mixed, and of his shoes shod with iron, both at the toe and heels, and with great nails in the soles of his feet, which was mighty pretty: and, taking notice of them, why, says the poor man, the downs, you see, are full of stones, and we are fain to shoe ourselves thus; and these, says he, will make the stones fly till they ring before me. I did give the poor man something, for which he was mighty thankful, and I tried to cast stones with his

horn brook. He values his dog mightily, that would turn a sheep any way which he would have him when he goes to fold them: and told me there was about eighteen score sheep in his flock, and that he hath four shillings a week the year round for keeping of them: and Mrs. Turner, in the common fields here, did gather one of the prettiest nosegays that ever I saw in my life. So to our coach, and through Mrs. Minnes's wood, and looked upon Mr. Evelyn's house; and so over the common, and through Epsom town to our inn, in the way stopping a poor woman with her milk-pail, and in one of my gilt tumblers did drink our bellyfuls of milk better than any cream; and so to our inn, and there had a dish of cream, but it was sour, and so had no pleasure in it; and so paid our reckoning, and took coach, it being about seven at night, and passed and saw the people walking with their wives and children to take the air, and we set out for home, the sun by-and-by going down, and we in the cool of the evening all the way with much pleasure home, talking and pleasing ourselves with the pleasure of this day's work. Mrs. Turner mightily pleased with my resolution, which, I tell her, is never to keep a country house, but to keep a coach, and with my wife on a Saturday to go sometimes for a day to this place, and then quit to another place; and there is more variety and as little charge, and no trouble, as there is in a country house. Anon it grew dark, and we had the pleasure to see several

glow-worms, which was mighty pretty; but my foot begins more and more to pain me, which Mrs. Turner, by keeping her warm hand upon it, did much ease; but so that when we come home, which was just at eleven at night, I was not able to walk from the lane's end to my house without being helped. So to bed, and there had a cere-cloth laid to my foot, but in great pain all night long.

15th. I was not able to go to-day to wait on the Duke of York with my fellows, but was forced in bed to write out particulars for their discourse there. Anon comes Mrs. Turner, and new-dressed my foot, and did it so that I was at much ease presently. Our poor Jane very sad for the death of her poor brother, who hath left a wife and two small children. I did give her 20s. in money, and what wine she needed for the burying him.

16th. To the office without much pain, and there sat all the morning.

17th. Home, where I am saluted with the news of Hogg's bringing a rich Canary prize to Hull: and Sir W. Batten do offer me £1,000 down for my particular share, besides Sir Richard Ford's part, which do tempt me; but yet I would not take it, but will stand and fall with the company. He and two more, the *Panther* and *Fanfan*, did enter into consortship; and so they have all brought in each a prize, though ours is worth as much as both theirs, and more. However, it will be

well worth having, God be thanked for it ! This news makes us all very glad. I at Sir W. Batten's did hear the particulars of it ; and there for joy he did give the company that were there a bottle or two of his own last year's wine, growing at Walthamstow, than which the whole company said they never drunk better foreign wine in their lives. The Duke of Buckingham is, it seems, set at liberty, without any further charge against him or other clearing of him, but let to go out ; which is one of the strangest instances of the fool's play with which all public things are done in this age that is to be apprehended. And it is said that when he was charged with making himself popular—as indeed he is, for many of the discontented Parliament, Sir Robert Howard, and Sir Thomas Meres, and others, did attend at the Council chamber when he was examined—he should answer, that whoever was committed to prison by my Lord Chancellor or my Lord Arlington could not want being popular. But it is worth considering the ill state a Minister of State is in under such a prince as ours is ; for, undoubtedly, neither of those two great men would have been so fierce against the Duke of Buckingham at the Council table the other day, had they not been assured of the King's good liking, and supporting them therein : whereas, perhaps at the desire of my Lady Castlemaine, who, I suppose, hath at last overcome the King, the Duke of Buckingham is well received again, and now



these men delivered up to the interest he can make for his revenge. He told me over the story of Mrs. Stewart, much after the manner which I was told it by Mr. Evelyn; only he says it is verily believed that the King did never intend to marry her to any but himself, and that the Duke of York and Lord Chancellor were jealous of it; and that Mrs. Stewart might be got with child by the King or somebody else, and the King own a marriage before his contract—for it is but a contract, as he tells me, to this day—with the Queen, and so wipe their noses of the Crown; and that, therefore, the Duke of York and Chancellor did do all they could to forward the match with my Lord Duke of Richmond, that she might be married out of the way; but, above all, it is a worthy part that this good lady hath acted. My sister Michell come from Lee to see us; but do tattle so much of the late business of the Dutch coming thither that I am weary of it. Yet it is worth remembering what she says: that she hath heard both seamen and soldiers swear they would rather serve the Dutch than the King, for they should be better used. She saw the *Royal Charles* brought into the river by them, and how they shot off their great guns for joy when they got her out of Chatham River.

18th. Very well employed at the office till evening; and then, being weary, took out my wife and Will Batelier by coach to Islington, but no pleasure in our

going the way being so dusty that one durst not breathe. Drank at the old house, and so home.

19th. One tells me that, by letter from Holland, the people there are made to believe that our condition in England is such as they may have whatever they will ask; and that so they are mighty high, and despise us, or a peace with us; and there is too much reason for them to do so. The Dutch fleet are in great squadrons everywhere still about Harwich, and were lately at Portsmouth: and the last letters say at Plymouth, and now gone to Dartmouth to destroy our Straits fleet, lately got in thither! but God knows whether they can do it any hurt or no.

20th. Towards the 'Change, at noon, in my way observing my mistake yesterday in Mark Lane, that the woman I saw was not the pretty woman I meant, the line-maker's wife, but a new married woman, very pretty, a strong-water seller; and in going by, to my content, I find that the very pretty daughter at the *Ship* tavern, at the end of Billiter Lane, is there still, and in the bar; and, I believe, is married to him that is new come, and hath new trimmed the house. Home to dinner, and then to the office, we having despatched away Mr. Oviatt to Hull about our prizes there; and I have wrote a letter of thanks by him to Lord Bellassis, who had writ to me to offer all his service for my interest there, but I dare not trust him.

21st. (Lord's day.) I and my wife and Mercer up

by water to Barne Elmes, where we walked by Moon-shine, and called at Lambeth, and drank and had cold meat in the boat, and did eat, and sang, and down home, by almost twelve at night, very fine and pleasant, only could not sing ordinary songs with the freedom that otherwise I would. Here Mercer tells me that the pretty maid of the *Ship* tavern is married there, which I am glad of. So having spent this night, with much serious pleasure to consider that I am in a condition to fling away an angel, in such a refreshment to myself and family, we home and to bed, leaving Mercer, by the way, at her own door.

22nd. Up to my Lord Chancellor's, where was a Committee of Tangier in my Lord's room, where he sits to hear causes, and where all the Judge's pictures hung up very fine. But to see how Sir W. Coventry did oppose both my Lord Chancellor and the Duke of York himself, about the order of the Commissioners of the Treasury to me for not paying of pensions, and with so much reason, and eloquence so natural, was admirable. And another thing, about his pressing for the reduction of the charge of Tangier, which they would have put off to another time: "But," says he, "the King suffers so much by the putting off of the consideration of reductions of charge, that he is undone; and therefore I do pray you, sir," to his Royal Highness, "that when anything offers of the kind you will not let it escape you." Here was a

great bundle of letters brought hither, sent up from sea, from a vessel of ours that hath taken them after they had been flung over by a Dutchman; wherein, among others, the Duke of York did read the superscription of one to De Witt, thus—"To the most wise, foreseeing, and discreet, These, &c.;" which, I thought with myself, I could have been glad might have been duly directed to any one of them at the table, though the greatest men in this kingdom. The Duke of York, the Lord Chancellor, my Lord Duke of Albemarle, Arlington, Ashley, Peterborough, and Coventry, the best of them all for parts, I perceive they do all profess their expectation of a peace, and that suddenly. Sir W. Coventry did declare his opinion that if Tangier were offered us now, as the King's condition is, he would advise against the taking it; saying, that the King's charge is too great, and must be brought down, it being, like the fire of this city, never to be mastered till you have brought it under you; and that these places abroad are but so much charge to the King, and we do rather herein strive to greaten them than lessen them; and then the King is forced to part with them, "as," says he, "he did with Dunkirk, by my Lord Teviott's making it so chargeable to the King as he did that, and would have done Tangier, if he had lived." I perceive he is the only man that do seek the King's profit, and is bold to deliver what he thinks on every occasion. With much pleasure reflecting upon

our discourse to-day at the Tangier meeting, and crying up the worth of Sir W. Coventry. Creed tells me of the fray between the Duke of Buckingham at the Duke's playhouse the last Saturday (and it is the first day I have heard that they have acted at either the King's or Duke's houses this month or six weeks) and Henry Killigrew, whom the Duke of Buckingham did soundly beat and take away his sword, and make a fool of, till the fellow prayed him to spare his life; and I am glad of it, for it seems in this business the Duke of Buckingham did carry himself very innocently and well, and I wish he had paid this fellow's coat well. I heard something of this at the 'Change to-day; and it is pretty to hear how people do speak kindly of the Duke of Buckingham, as one that will inquire into faults; and therefore they do mightily favour him. And it puts me in mind that, this afternoon, Billing, the Quaker, meeting me in the Hall, come to me, and after a little discourse did say, "Well," says he, "now you will be all called to an account;" meaning the Parliament is drawing near.

23rd. Comes sudden news to me by letter from the Clerk of the Cheque at Gravesend that there were thirty sail of Dutch men-of-war coming up into the Hope this last tide: which I told Sir W. Pen of; but he would not believe it, but laughed, and said it was a fleet of Billanders (coasters), and that the guns that were heard was the salutation of the Swede's

ambassador that comes over with them. But within half an hour comes another letter from Captain Proud, that eight of them were come into the Hope, and thirty more following them, at ten this morning. By-and-by comes an order from Whitehall to send down one of our number to Chatham, fearing that, as they did before, they may make a show first up hither, but then go to Chatham: so my Lord Brouncker do go, and we here are ordered to give notice to the merchant men-of-war, gone below the barricado at Woolwich, to come up again.

24th. Betimes this morning comes a letter from the Clerk of the Cheque at Gravesend to me, to tell me that the Dutch fleet did come all into the Hope yesterday noon, and held a fight with our ships from thence till seven at night; that they had burned twelve fire-ships, and we took one of theirs, and burned five of our fire-ships. But then rising and going to Sir W. Batten, he tells me that we have burned one of their men-of-war, and another of theirs is blown up: but how true this is I know not. But these fellows are mighty bold, and have had the fortune of the wind easterly this time to bring them up, and prevent our troubling them with our fire-ships; and, indeed, have had the winds at their command from the beginning, and now do take the beginning of the spring, as if they had some great design to do. About five o'clock down to Gravesend, all the way with extraordinary

content reading of Boyle's Hydrostatics, which, the more I read and understand, the more I admire, as a most excellent piece of philosophy; and as we come nearer Gravesend we hear the Dutch fleet and ours firing their guns most distinctly and loud. So I landed, and discoursed with the landlord of the Ship, who undeceives me in what I heard this morning about the Dutch having lost two men-of-war, for it is not so, but several of their fire-ships. He do say that this afternoon they did force our ships to retreat, but that now they are gone down as far as Shield-haven; but what the event hath been of this evening's guns they know not, but suppose not much, for they have all this while shot at good distance one from another. They seem confident of the security of this town and the river above it, if ever the enemy should come up so high; their fortifications being so good, and guns many. But he do say that people do complain of Sir Edward Spragg, that he hath not done extraordinary; and more of Sir W. Jennings, that he came up with his tankins in his guns. Having eat a bit of cold venison, and drank, I away, took boat, and homeward again with great pleasure, the moon shining, and it being a fine, pleasant, cool evening, and got home by half-past twelve at night, and so to bed.

25th. At night, Sir W. Batten, W. Pen, myself, and Sir R. Ford, did meet in the garden to discourse about our prizes at Hull. It appears that Hogg is the

veriest rogue, the most observable embezzler that ever was known. This vexes us, and made us very free and plain with Sir W. Pen, who hath been his great patron, and as very a rogue as he. But he does now seem to own that his opinion is changed of him, and that he will join with us in our strictest inquiries, and did sign to the letters we had drawn, which he had refused before, and so seemingly parted good friends. I demanded of Sir R. Ford and the rest what passed to-day at the meeting of Parliament: who told me that, contrary to all expectation by the King that there would be but a thin meeting, there met above 300 this first day, and all the discontented party; and, indeed, the whole House seems to be no other almost. The Speaker told them, as soon as they were sat, that he was ordered by the King to let them know he was hindered by some important business to come to them, and speak to them, as he intended; and, therefore, ordered him to move that they would adjourn themselves till Monday next, it being very plain to all the House that he expects to hear by that time of the sealing of the peace, which by letters, it seems from my Lord Hollis, was to be sealed last Sunday. But before they would come to the question whether they would adjourn, Sir Thomas Tomkins steps up and tells them that all the country is grieved at this new-raised standing army; and that they thought themselves safe enough in their train-bands; and that, therefore, he



desired the King might be moved to disband them. Then rises Garraway and seconds him, only with this explanation, which he said he believed the other meant; that, as soon as peace should be concluded, they might be disbanded. Then rose Sir W. Coventry, and told them that he did approve of what the last gentleman said; but also that at the same time he did no more than what, he durst be bold to say, he knew to be the King's mind, that as soon as peace was concluded he would do it of himself. Then rose Sir Thomas Littleton, and did give several reasons from the uncertainty of their meeting again but to adjourn, in case news comes of the peace being ended before Monday next, and the possibility of the King's having some about him that may endeavour to alter his own, and the good part of his Council's advice, for the keeping up of the land army; and, therefore, it was fit that they did present it to the King as their desire, that, as soon as peace was concluded, the land army might be laid down, and that this their request might be carried to the King by them of their House that were Privy Counsellors; which was put to the vote, and carried *nemine contradicente*. So after this vote passed, they adjourned; but it is plain what the effects of this Parliament will be, if they be suffered to sit, that they will fall foul upon the faults of the Government; and I pray God they may be permitted to do it, for nothing

else, I fear, will save the King and kingdom than the doing it betimes.

26th. No news all this day what we have done to the enemy, but that the enemy is fallen down, and we after them, but to little purpose.

27th. To the office, where I hear that Sir John Coventry is come over from Breda, a nephew, I think, of Sir W. Coventry's: but what message he brings I know not. This morning news is come that Sir Jos. Jordan is come from Harwich, with sixteen fire-ships and four other little ships of war, and did attempt to do some execution upon the enemy, but did it without discretion, as most do say, so as they have been able to do no good, but have lost four of their fire-ships. They attempted this, it seems, when the wind was too strong, that our grapplings could not hold: others say we came to leeward of them, but all condemn it as a foolish management. They are come to Sir Edward Spragg about Lee, and the Dutch are below at the Nore. At the office all the morning; and at noon to the 'Change, where I met Fenn; and he tells me that Sir John Coventry do bring the confirmation of the peace; but I do not find the 'Change at all glad of it, but rather the worse, they looking upon it as a peace made only to preserve the King for a time in his lusts and ease, and to sacrifice trade and his kingdoms only to his own pleasures, so that the hearts of merchants are quite down. He tells me that the King and my

Lady Castlemaine are quite broke off, and she is gone away, and is with child, and swears the King shall own it; and she will have it christened in the chapel at Whitehall sq. and owned for the King's, as other kings have done; or she will bring it into Whitehall gallery, and dash the brains of it out before the King's face. He tells me that the King and Court were never in the world so bad as they are now for gaming, swearing, women, and drinking, and the most abominable vices that ever were in the world; so that all must come to nought. He told me that Sir G. Carteret was at this end of the town: so I went to visit him in Broad Street; and there he and I together: and he is mightily pleased with my Lady Jem's having a son; and a mighty glad man he is. He [Sir George Carteret] tells me, as to news, that the peace is now confirmed, and all that over. He says it was a very unhappy motion in the House the other day about the land army; for, whether the King hath a mind of his own to do the thing desired or no, his doing it will be looked upon as a thing done only in fear of the Parliament. He says that the Duke of York is suspected to be the great man that is for the raising of this army, and bringing things to be commanded by an army; but that he do know that he is wronged therein. He do say that the Court is in a way to ruin all for their pleasures; and says that he himself hath once taken the liberty to tell the King the necessity of

having, at least, a show of religion in the Government, and sobriety, and that it was that that did set up and keep up Oliver, though he was the greatest rogue in the world. He tells me the King adheres to no man, but this day delivers himself up to this, and the next day to that, to the ruin of himself and business; that he is at the command of any woman like a slave, though he be the best man to the Queen in the world, with so much respect, and never lies a night from her, but yet cannot command himself in the presence of a woman he likes. It raining this day, all day to our great joy, it having not rained, I think, this month before, so as the ground was everywhere so burned and dry as could be, and no travelling in the road or streets in London for dust.

28th. All the morning close, to draw up a letter to Sir W. Coventry upon the tidings of peace, taking occasion, before I am forced to it, to resign up to His Royal Highness my place of the victualling, and to recommend myself to him by promise of doing my utmost to improve this peace in the best manner we may, to save the kingdom from ruin.

29th. Up, and with Sir W. Batten to St. James's, to Sir W. Coventry's chamber, where, among other things, he came to me, and told me that he had received my yesterday's letters, and that we concurred very well in our notions, and that, as to my place which I had offered to resign of the victualling, he

had drawn up a letter at the same time for the Duke of York's signing for the like places in general raised during this war, and that he had done me right to the Duke of York, to let him know that I had, of my own accord, offered to resign mine. The letter do bid us to do all things, particularising several, for the laying up of the ships and easing the King of charge, so that the war is now professedly over. By-and-by up to the Duke of York's chamber, and there all the talk was about Jordan's coming with so much indiscretion, with his four little frigates and sixteen fire-ships from Harwich, to annoy the enemy. His failures were of several sorts, I know not which the truest: that he came with so strong a gale of wind that his grapplings would not hold; that he did come by their lee, whereas, if he had come athwart their hawse, they would have held; that they did not stop a tide, and ebb up with a windward tide, and then they would not have come so fast. Now, there happened to be Captain Jenifer by, who commanded the *Lily* in this business, and thus says, that, finding the Dutch not so many as they expected, they did not know that there were more of them above, and so were not so earnest to the setting upon these, that they did do what they could to make the fire-ships fall in among the enemy, and for their lives neither Sir J. Jordan nor others could, by shooting several times at them, make them go in, and it seems they were commanded

by some idle fellows, such as they could of a sudden gather up at Harwich, which is a sad consideration that, at such a time as this, where the saving the reputation of the whole nation lay at stake, and after so long a war, the King had not credit to gather a few able men to command these vessels. He says that if they had come up slower the enemy would, with their boats and their great sloops, which they have to row with a great many men, and did come and cut up several of our fire-ships, and would certainly have taken most of them, for they do come with a great provision of these boats on purpose, and to save their men, which is bravely done of them, though they did on this very occasion show great fear, as they say, by some men leaping overboard out of a great ship, as these were all of them of sixty and seventy guns a-piece, which one of our fire-ships laid on board, though the fire did not take. But yet it is brave to see what care they do take to encourage their men to provide great stores of boats to save them, while we have not credit to find one boat for a ship. And, further, he told us that this new way used by Deane, and this Sir W. Coventry observed several times, of preparing of fire-ships do not do the work; for the fire, not being strong and quick enough to flame up, so as to take the rigging and sails, lies smothering a great while, half-an-hour before it flames, in which time they can get the fire-ship off safely, though, which is uncertain, and did

fail in one or two this bout, it do serve to burn our own ships. But what a shame it is to consider how two of our ships' companies did desert their ships for fear of being taken by their boats, our little frigates being forced to leave them, being chased by their greater! And one more company did set their ship on fire and leave her, which afterwards a Faversham fisherman came up to and put out the fire, and carried safe into Faversham, where she now is, which was observed by the Duke of York and all the company with him that it was only want of courage and a general dismay and abjectness of spirit upon all our men; and others did observe our ill management, and God Almighty's curse upon all that we have in hand, for never such an opportunity was of destroying so many good ships of theirs as we now had. But to see how negligent we were in this business, that our fleet of Jordan's should not have any notice where Spragg was, nor Spragg of Jordan's, so as to be able to meet and join in the business, and help one another; but Jordan, when he saw Spragg's fleet above, did think them to be another part of the enemy's fleet! While, on the other side, notwithstanding our people at Court made such a secret of Jordan's design that nobody must know it, and even this office itself must not know it, nor for my part I did not, though Sir W. Batten says by others' discourse to him he had heard something of it; yet De Ruyter, or he that

commanded this fleet, had notice of it, and told it to a fisherman of ours, that he took and released on Thursday last, which was the day before our fleet came to him. But then that that seems most to our disgrace, and which the Duke of York did take special and vehement notice of, is that when the Dutch saw so many fire-ships provided for them, themselves lying, I think, about the Nore, they did with all their great ships, with a north-east wind, as I take it they said, but whatever it was, it was a wind that we should not have done it with, turn down to the Middle-ground, which the Duke of York observed never was nor would have been undertaken by ourselves. And whereas some of the company answered it was their great fear, not their choice, that made them do it, the Duke of York answered that it was, it may be, their fear and wisdom that made them do it, but yet their fear did not make them mistake, as we should have done, when we have had no fear upon us, and have run our ships on ground. And this brought it into my mind that they managed their retreat down this difficult passage, with all their fear, better than we could do ourselves in the main sea, when the Duke of Albemarle ran away from the Dutch, when the *Prince* was lost, and the *Royal Charles* and the other great ships came on ground upon the *Galloper*. Thus, in all things, in wisdom, courage, force, knowledge of our



own streams, and success, the Dutch have the best of us, and do end the war with victory on their side. The Duke of York being ready we into his closet, but, being in haste to go to the Parliament House, he could not stay. So we parted, and to Westminster Hall, where the Hall full of people to see the issue of the day, the King being to come to speak to the House to-day. One thing extraordinary was, this day a man, a Quaker, came naked through the Hall, only very civilly tied about the loins to avoid scandal, and with a chafing-dish of fire and brimstone burning upon his head, did pass through the Hall, crying, "Repent! repent!" Presently comes down the House of Commons, the King having made them a very short and no pleasing speech to them at all, not at all giving them thanks for their readiness to come up to town this busy time, but told them that he did think he should have had occasion for them, but had none, and therefore did dismiss them to look after their own occasions till October, and that he did wonder any should offer to bring in a suspicion that he intended to rule by an army, or otherwise than by the laws of the land, which he promised them he would do; and so bade them go home and settle the minds of the country in that particular, and only added that he had made a peace which he did believe they would find reasonable, and a good peace,

but did give them none of the particulars thereof. Thus they are dismissed again to their general great distaste, I believe the greatest that ever Parliament was, to see themselves so fooled, and the nation in certain condition of ruin, while the King, they see, is only governed by his lust, and women, and rogues about him. The Speaker, they found, was kept from coming in the morning to the House on purpose, till after the King was come to the House of Lords, for fear they should be doing anything in the House of Commons to the further dissatisfaction of the King and his courtiers. They do all give up the kingdom for lost that I speak to, and do hear what the King says, how he and the Duke of York do do what they can to get up an army, that they may need no more Parliaments, and how my Lady Castlemaine hath, before the late breach between her and the King, said to the King, that he must rule by an army, or all would be lost, and that Bab. May hath given the like advice to the King, to crush the English gentlemen, saying that £300 a year was enough for any man but them that lived at Court. I am told that many petitions were provided for the Parliament, complaining of the wrongs they have received from the Court and courtiers, in city and country, if the Parliament had but sat, and I do perceive they all do resolve to have a good account of the money spent before ever they give a farthing more; and the

whole kingdom is everywhere sensible of their being abused, insomuch that they forced their Parliament men to come up to sit, and my cousin Roger told me that—but that was in mirth, he believed—if he had not come up he should have had his house burned. The kingdom never in so troubled a condition in this world as now; nobody pleased with the peace, and yet nobody daring wish for the continuance of the war, it being plain that nothing do nor can thrive under us. Here I saw old good Mr. Vaughan, and several of the great men of the Commons, and some of them old men, that are come 200 miles, and more, to attend this session of Parliament, and have been at great charge and disappointments in their other private business, and now all to no purpose, neither to serve their country, content themselves, nor receive any thanks from the King. It is verily expected by many of them that the King will continue the prorogation in October, so as, if it be possible, never to have this Parliament more. My Lord Bristol took his place in the House of Lords this day, but not in his robes, and when the King came in he withdrew, but my Lord of Buckingham was there as brisk as ever, and sat in his robes, which is a monstrous thing, that a man should be proclaimed against, and put in the Tower. and released without any trial, and yet not restored to his places. But, above all, I saw my Lord Mordaunt as merry as

the best, that it seems hath done such further indignities to Mr. Taylor since the last sitting of Parliament as would hang him, if there were nothing else, would the King do what were fit for him; but nothing of that is now likely to be. After having spent an hour or two in the Hall, my cousin Roger and I and Creed to the Old Exchange, where I find all the merchants sad at this peace and breaking up of the Parliament, as men despairing of any good to the nation, which is a grievous consideration, and so home. Cousin Roger and Creed to dinner with me, and very merry, but among other things they told me of the strange, bold sermon of Dr. Creeton yesterday before the King; how he preached against the sins of the Court, and particularly against adultery; over and over instancing how for that single sin in David the whole nation was undone, and of our negligence in having our castles without ammunition and powder when the Dutch came upon us, and how we have no courage nowadays, but let our ships be taken out of our harbour. Here Creed did tell us the story of the duel last night, in Covent Garden, between Sir H. Bellassis and Tom Porter. It is worth remembering the silliness of the quarrel, and is a kind of emblem of the general complexion of this whole kingdom at present. They two dined yesterday at Sir Robert Carr's, where it seems people do drink high, all that come. It happened that

these two, the greatest friends in the world, were talking together, and Sir H. Bellassis talked a little louder than ordinary to Tom Porter, giving of him some advice. Some of the company standing by said, "What! are they quarrelling, that they talk so high?" Sir H. Bellassis hearing it, said, "No!" says he, "I would have you know I never quarrel, but I strike; and take that as a rule of mine!" "How?" says Tom Porter, "strike! I would I could see the man in England that durst give me a blow!" With that Sir H. Bellassis did give him a box of the ear, and so they were going to fight there, but were hindered. And by-and-by Tom Porter went out, and meeting Dryden the poet, told him of the business, and that he was resolved to fight Sir H. Bellassis presently, for he knew, if he did not, they should be friends to-morrow, and then the blow would rest upon him, which he would prevent, and desired Dryden to let him have his boy to bring him notice which way Sir H. Bellassis goes. By-and-by he is informed that Sir H. Bellassis's coach was coming so Tom Porter went out of the coffee-house where he stayed for the tidings, and stopped the coach, and bade Sir H. Bellassis come out. "Why," says Sir H. Bellassis, "you will not hurt me coming out, will you?"—"No," says Tom Porter. So out he went, and both drew: and Sir H. Bellassis having drawn and flung away his scabbard, Tom Porter asked

him whether he was ready? The other answering him he was, they fell to fight, some of their acquaintance by. They wounded one another, and Sir H. Bellassis so much that it is feared that he will die: and finding himself severely wounded, he called to Tom Porter, and kissed him, and had him shift for himself, "for," says he, "Tom, thou hast hurt me, but I will make shift to stand upon my legs till thou mayest withdraw, and the world not take notice of you, for I would not have thee troubled for what thou hast done." And so whether he did fly or no I cannot tell, but Tom Porter showed Sir H. Bellassis that he was wounded too: and they are both ill, but Sir H. Bellassis to fear of life. And this is a fine example; and Sir H. Bellassis a Parliament man, too, and both of them extraordinary friends! Cousin Roger did acquaint me in private with an offer made of his marrying of Mrs Elizabeth Wiles, whom I know, a kinswoman of Mr. Honiwood's, an ugly old maid, but good housewife, and is said to have £2,500 to her portion, but if I can find that she has but £2,000, which he prays me to examine, he says he will have her, she being one he hath long known intimately, and a good housewife, and discreet woman, though I am against it in my heart, she being not handsome at all, and it hath been the very bad fortune of the Pepyses that ever I knew never to marry a handsome woman, excepting

Ned Pepys. To Whitehall, and, looking out of the window into the garden, I saw the King, whom I have not had any desire to see since the Dutch came upon the coast first to Sheerness, for shame that I should see him, or he me, methinks, after such a dishonour come upon the garden, with him two or three idle Lords, and instantly after him, in another walk, my Lady Castlemaine, led by Bab. May, at which I was surprised, having but newly heard the stories of the King and her being parted for ever. So I took Mr. Povey, who was there, aside, and he told me all—how imperious this woman is, and hectors the King to whatever she will. It seems she is with child, and the King says it is not his; with that she made a slighting pun with her mouth, and went out of the house, and never came in again till the King went to Sir Daniel Harvy's to pray her, and so she is come to-day, when one would think his mind should be full of some other cares, having but this morning broken up such a Parliament, with so much discontent, and so many wants upon him, and but yesterday heard such a sermon against adultery. But it seems she hath told the King that whoever did get it he should own it; and the bottom of the quarrel is this:—She is fallen in love with young Jermin, who hath of late been with her oftener than the King, and is now going to marry my Lady Falmouth; the King is mad at her enter-

taming Jermin, and she is mad at Jermin's going to marry from her; so they are all mad, and thus the kingdom is governed! But he tells me for certain that nothing is more sure than that the King, and Duke of York, and the Chancellor, are desirous and labouring all they can to get an army, whatever the King says to the Parliament, and he believes that they are at last resolved to stand and fall all three together, so that he says in terms that the match of the Duke of York with the Chancellor's daughter hath undone the nation. He tells me also that the King hath not greater enemies in the world than those of his own family, for there is not an officer in the house almost but curses him for letting them starve, and there is not a farthing of money to be raised for the buying them bread. To walk in the garden with my wife, telling her of my losing £300 a-year by my place that I am to part with, which do a little trouble me, but we must live with somewhat more thrift. Many guns were heard this afternoon, it seems, at Whitehall and in the Temple Garden very plain, but what it should be nobody knows, unless the Dutch be driving our ships up the river. To-morrow we shall know.

30th. To the Treasury chamber, where I did speak with the Lords. Here I do hear that there are three Lords more to be added to them: my Lord Bridgewater, my Lord Anglesey, and my Lord Chamberlain.



Thence with Creed to Whitehall, in our way meeting with Mr. Cooling, my Lord Chamberlain's secretary, on horseback, who stopped to speak with us, and he proved very drunk, and did talk, and would have talked all night with us, I not being able to break loose from him, he holding me so by the hand. But, Lord! to see his present humour, how he swears at every word, and talks of the King and my Lady Castlemaine in the plainest words in the world. And from him I gather that the story I learned yesterday is true—that the King hath declared that he did not get the child of which she is conceived at this time. But she told him, "But you shall own it!" It seems he is jealous of Jermyn, and she loves him so that the thoughts of his marrying of my Lady of Falmouth puts her into fits of the mother; and he, it seems, hath been in her good graces from time to time continually for a good while. Mr. Cooling told us how the King, once speaking of the Duke of York's being master'd by his wife, said to some of the company by that he would go no more abroad with this Tom Otter, meaning the Duke of York and his wife. Tom Killigrew being by, said, "Sir, pray which is the best for a man to be, a Tom Otter to his wife or to his mistress?" meaning the King's being so to my Lady Castlemaine. Thus he went on, and speaking then of my Lord Sandwich, whom he professed to love exceedingly, says

Creed, "I know not what, but he is a man, methinks, that I could love for himself without other regards." He talked very lewdly, and then took notice of my kindness to him on shipboard seven years ago, when the King was coming over, and how much he was obliged to me, but says, pray look upon this acknowledgment of a kindness in me to be a miracle, for, says he, "It is against the law at Court for a man that borrows money of me, even to buy his place with, to own it the next Sunday;" and then told us his horse was a bribe, and his boots a bribe; and told us he was made up of bribes, as an Oxford scholar is set out with other men's goods when he goes out of town, and that he makes every sort of tradesman to bribe him, and invited me home to his house, to taste of his bribe wine. I never heard so much vanity from a man in my life, so, being now weary of him, we parted, and I took coach, and carried Creed to the Temple. There set him down, and to my office, till my eyes began to ache, and then home to supper: a pullet, with good sauce, to my liking, and then to play on the flageolet with my wife, which she now does very prettily, and so to bed.

31st. Among other things, did examine a fellow of our private man-of-war, who we have found come up from Hull with near £500 worth of pieces of eight, though he will confess but 100 pieces. But it appears

that there have been fine doings there. Major Halsey, speaking much of my doing business, and understanding business, told me how my Lord General do say that I am worth them all. To Marylebone, where my Lord Mayor and Aldermen, it seems, dined to-day, and were just now going away, methought, in a disconsolate condition, compared with their splendour they formerly had, when the City was standing.

August 1st. Dined at Sir W. Pen's, only with Mrs. Turner and her husband, on a venison pasty, that stunk like a devil. However, I did not know it till dinner was done. We had nothing but only this, and a leg of mutton, and a pullet or two. I was very merry, and after dinner, upon a motion of the women, I was got to go to the play with them—the first I have seen since before the Dutch's coming upon our coast, and so to the King's house to see *The Custom of the Country*. The house mighty empty—more than ever I saw it—and an ill play. After the play we went into the house and spoke with Knipp, who went abroad with us by coach to the Neat Houses in the way to Chelsea, and there in a box in a tree we sat and sang, and talked and ate, my wife out of humour, as she always is when this woman is by. So, after it was dark, we home. Set Knipp down at home, who told us the story how Nell is gone from the King's house, to live with my Lord Buckhurst. Home, the gates of the

City shut, it being so late, and at Newgate we find them in trouble, some thieves having this night broke open prison. So we through, and home, and our coachman was fain to drive hard from two or three fellows, which he said were rogues, that he met at the end of Bluebladder Street, next Cheapside. So see Mrs. Turner home, and then we home, and I to the office a little, and so home and to bed, my wife in an ill humour still.

2nd. Mr. Gauden came to me, and he and I home to my chamber, and there reckoned, and I received my profits for Tangier of him, and £250 on my victualling score. He is a most noble-minded man as ever I met with, and seems to own himself much obliged to me, which I will labour to make him, for he is a good man also; and in fine I had much matter of joy by this morning's work, receiving above £400 of him on one account or other, and a promise that, though I lay down my victualling place, yet as long as he continues victualler I shall be the better by him.

3rd. To the office, there to enable myself by finishing our great account to give it to the Lords Commissioners of the Treasury, which I did, and there was called in to them to tell them only the total of our debt of the navy on the 25th of May last, which is above £950,000. Here I find them mighty hot in their answer to the Council board about our treasurer's

threepences of the victualling, and also against present farm of the Customs, which they do most highly inveigh against.

4th. (Lord's Day.) Busy at my office from morning till night in writing with my own hand fair our 1 general account of the expense and debt of the navy which lasted me till midnight to do, that I was almost blind.

5th. To St. James's, where we did our ordinary business with the Duke of York, where I perceive we have taken the highest resolution in the world to become good husbands, and to retrench all charge, to that end we are commanded to give him an account of the establishment in the seventh year of the King's reign, and how offices and salaries had increased since, and I hope it will end in the taking away some of our Commissioners. After done the Duke of York, and coming out through his dressing room, I there spied Signor Francisco tuning his guitar and Monsieur de Puy with him, who did make play to me, which he did most admirably—so well I was mightily troubled that all that pains should have been taken upon so bad an instrument. I heard the news of our loss lately of four rich ships, two of Guinea, one from Gallipoli, all with rich oils, the other from Barbadoes, worth, as is guessed, £80. But here is strong talk, as if Harman had taken

of the Dutch East India ships, but I dare not yet believe it, and brought them into Lisbon. To the Duke of York's house, and there saw *Love's Tricks*, or *the School of Compliments*, a silly play, only Miss Davis's dancing in a shepherd's clothes did please us mightily.

6th. A full Board. Here, talking of news, my Lord Anglesey did tell us that the Dutch do make a further bogle with us about two or three things, which they will be satisfied in, he says, by us easily, but only in one, it seems, they do demand that we shall not interrupt their East Indiamen coming home, and of which they are in some fear, and we are full of hopes that we have light upon some of them and carried them into Lisbon, by Harman, which God send! But they, which do show the low esteem they have of us, have the confidence to demand that we shall have a cessation on our parts, and yet they at liberty to take what they will, which is such an affront, as another cannot be devised greater. At noon home to dinner, where I find Mrs. Wood, formerly Bab. Shelden, and our mercer, who is dressed to-day in a paysan dress, that looks mighty pretty. My wife, as she said last night, hath put away Nell to-day, for her gossiping abroad and telling of stories.

7th. My wife abroad with her maid Jane and Tom all the afternoon, being gone forth to eat some pasties

at the Bottle of Hay, in John's Street, as you go to Islington, of which she is mighty fond, and I dined at home alone. Mr. Pierce, the surgeon, tells me that though the King and my Lady Castlemaine are friends again, she is not at Whitehall, but at Sir D. Harvy's, whither the King goes to her; but he says she made him ask her forgiveness upon his knees, and promise to offend her no more so, and that, indeed, she did threaten to bring all his bastards to his closet-door, and hath nearly hector'd him out of his wits.

8th. Sir Henry Bellasis is dead of the duel he fought about ten days ago with Tom Porter, and it is pretty to see how the world talk of them as a couple of fools, that killed one another out of love. I to my bookseller's, where, by-and-by, I met Mr. Evelyn, and talked of several things, but particularly of the times: and he tells me that wise men do prepare to remove abroad what they have, for that we must be ruined, our case being past relief, the kingdom so much in debt, and the King minding nothing but his lust, going two days a week to see my Lady Castlemaine at Sir D. Harvy's. I met with Mr. Moore, who tells me that my Lord Hinchinbroke is now with his mistress, but that he is not married, as W. Howe came and told us the other day. To Whitehall, and so took up my wife, and as far as Bow, where we stayed and drank, and there, passing by Mr. Lowther and his lady, they

stopped, and we talked a little with them, they being in their gilt coach. Presently came to us Mr. Andrews, whom I had not seen a good while, who, as other merchants do, do all give over any hopes of things doing well, and so he spends his time here most, playing at bowls. After dining together at the coach-side, we went to great pleasure home.

9th. To Westminster, to Mr. Burges, and he and I talked, and he do really declare that he expects that of necessity this kingdom will fall back again to a commonwealth, and other wise men are of the same mind, this family doing all that silly men can do to make themselves unable to support their kingdom, minding their lust and their pleasure, and making their Government so chargeable, that people do well remember better things were done, and better managed, and with much less charge under a commonwealth than they have been by this King. Home, and find Mr. Goodgroome, my wife's singing-master. There I did soundly rattle him for neglecting her so much as he has done—she not having learned three songs these three months and more. To St. James's, and there met Sir W. Coventry, and he and I walked in the Park an hour. And then to his chamber, where he read to me the heads of the late great dispute between him and the rest of the Commissioners of the Treasury, and our new Treasurer of the Navy, where they have



overthrown him the last Wednesday, in the great dispute touching his having the payment of the victualler, which is now settled by Council that he is not to have it: and, indeed, they have been most just, as well as most severe and bold, in the doing this against a man of his quality; but I perceive Sir W. Coventry does really make no difference between any man. He tells me this day it is supposed the peace is ratified at Bredah, and all that matter over. We did talk of many retrenchments of charge of the Navy which he will put in practice, and everywhere else, though, he tells me, he despairs of being able to do what ought to be done for the saving of the kingdom, which I tell him, indeed, all the world is almost in hopes of, upon the proceeding of these gentlemen for the regulating of the Treasury, it being so late, and our poverty grown so great, that they want where to set their feet, to begin to do anything. He tells me how weary he hath for this year and a half been of the war, and how, in the Duke of York's bedchamber, at Christ Church, at Oxford, when the Court was there, he did labour to persuade the Duke to fling off the care of the Navy, and get it committed to other hands, which, if he had done, would have been much to his honour, being just come home with so much honour from sea as he was. I took notice of the sharp letter he wrote, which he sent us to read, to Sir Edward Spragg, where he is

very plain about his leaving his charge of the ships at Gravesend, when the enemy came last up, and several other things, a copy whereof I have kept. But it is done like a most worthy man, and he says it is good, now and then, to tell these gentlemen their duty, for they need it. And it seems, as he tells me, all our knights are fallen out one with another, he, and Jennings, and Hollis, and his words were, they are disputing which is the coward among them, and yet men that take the greatest liberty of censuring others! Here with him very late, till I could hardly get a coach or link willing to go through the ruins, but I do, but I will not do it again, being, indeed, very dangerous.

10th. To the new Exchange, to the bookseller's there, where I hear of several new books coming out—Mr. Spratt's "History of the Royal Society," and Mrs. Phillips's poems. Sir John Denham's poems are going to be all printed together, and, among others, some new things; and among them he showed me a copy of verses of his upon Sir John Minnes's going heretofore to Boulogne to eat a pig. Cowley, he tells me, is dead, who, it seems, was a mighty civil, serious man, which I did not know before. Several good plays are also likely be abroad soon, as *Mustapha* and *Henry V.*

11th. (Lord's day.) Up by four o'clock, and ready, with Mrs. Turner, to take coach before five, and set

on our journey, and got to the wells at Barnet by seven o'clock, and there found many people a-drinking, but the morning is a very cold morning, so as we were very cold all the way in the coach. Here we met Joseph Batelier and W. Hewer also, and his uncle Steventon, so, after drinking three glasses and the women nothing, we back by coach to Barnet, where to the Red Lion, where we 'light, and went up into the great room, and there drank, and ate some of the best cheesecakes that ever I ate in my life, and so took coach again, and W. Hewer on horseback with us, and so to Hatfield, to the inn, next my Lord Salisbury's house, and there rested ourselves, and drank, and bespoke dinner, and so to church, it being just church-time. Did hear a most excellent good sermon, which pleased me mightily, and very devout, it being upon the designs of saving grace, where it is in a man, and one sign, which held him all this day, was, that where that grace was there is also the grace of prayer, which he did handle very finely. In this church lies the former Lord of Salisbury, Cecil, buried in a noble tomb. Then we to our inn, and there dined very well, and mighty merry, and walked out into the park through the fine walk of trees, and to the vineyard, and there showed them that, which is in good order, and indeed a place of great delight, which, together with our fine walk through the park, was of as much

pleasure as could be desired in the world for country pleasure and good air. Being come back, and weary with the walk, the women had pleasure in putting on some straw hats, which are much worn in this country, and did become them mightily, but especially my wife. So, after resting a while, we took coach again, and back to Barnet, where W. Hewer took us into his lodging, which is very handsome, and there did treat us very highly with cheesecakes, cream, tarts, and other good things; and then walked into the garden, which was pretty, and there filled my pockets full of filberts, and so with much pleasure. Among other things I met in this house with a printed book of the "Life of O. Cromwell" to his honour as a soldier and politician, though as a rebel, the first of that kind that ever I saw, and it is well done. Took coach again, and got home with great content.

12th. To St. James's, where we find the Duke gone a-hunting with the King. To my bookseller's, and did buy Scott's "Discourse of Witches;" and do hear Mr. Cowley mightily lamented his death, by Dr. Ward, the Bishop of Winchester, and Dr. Bates, who were standing there, as the best poet of our nation, and as good a man. Thence I to the printseller's, over against the Exchange towards Covent Garden, and there bought a few more prints of cities. So home, and my wife and maids being gone over the water to the whitester's with

their clothes, this being the first time of her trying this way of washing her linen. After dinner, all alone, to the King's playhouse, and there did happen to sit just before Mrs. Pierce, and Mrs. Knipp, who pulled me by the hair, and so I addressed myself to them, and talked to them all the intervals of the play, and did give them fruit. The play is *Brenoralt*, which I do find but little in, for my part. Here was many fine ladies—among others, the German Baron, with his lady, who is envoy from the Emperor, and their fine daughter, which hath travelled all Europe over with them, it seems, and is accordingly accomplished, and, indeed, is a wonderful pretty woman. Here Sir Philip Frowde, who sat next to me, did tell me how Sir H. Bellassis is dead, and that the quarrel between him and Tom Porter, who is fled, did rise in the ridiculous fashion that I was first told it, which is a strange thing between two so good friends. The play being done, I took the women, and Mrs. Corbett, who was with them, by coach, it raining, to Mrs. Manuel's, the Jew's widow, formerly a player, who we heard sing with one of the Italians that was there; and, indeed, she sings mightily well, and just after the Italian manner, but yet do not please me like one of Mrs. Knipp's songs, to a good English tune, the manner of their air not pleasing me so well as the fashion of our own, nor so natural. Then home, and my wife come; and so,

saying nothing where I had been, we to supper and pipe, and so to bed.

13th. Attended the Duke of York with our usual business, who, upon occasion, told us that he did expect this night or to-morrow to hear from Bredah of the consummation of the peace. Sir W. Pen and I to the King's house, and there saw *The Committee*, which I went to with some prejudice, not liking it before, but I do now find it a very good play, and a great deal of good invention in it, but Lacy's part is so well performed that it would set off anything.

14th. To dinner to Sir W. Batten's. By-and-by to talk of our prize at Hull, and Sir W. Batten offering, again and again seriously, how he would sell his part for £1,000; and I considering the knavery of Hogg and his company, and the trouble we may have with the Prince Rupert about the consort ship, I did offer my part to him for £700. With a little beating the bargain we came to a perfect agreement for £666 13s. 4d., which is two-thirds of £1,000, which is my proportion of the prize. I went to my office full of doubts and joy concerning what I had done; but, however, did put into writing the heads of our agreement, and we both signed them, and Sir R. Ford being come thither since, witnessed them. I away, satisfied, and to the King's playhouse, and there saw *The Country Captain*, which is a very ordinary play.

15th. Sir W. Pen and I to the Duke's house, where a new play. The King and Court there, the house full, and an act begun. And so went to the King's, and there saw *The Merry Wives of Windsor*, which did not please me at all, in no part of it.

16th. My wife and I to the Duke's playhouse, where we saw the new play acted yesterday, *The Feign Innocence, or Sir Martin Marall*, a play made by my Lord Duke of Newcastle, but, as everybody says, corrected by Dryden. It is the most entire piece of mirth, & complete farce from one end to the other, that certainly was ever writ. I never laughed so in all my life, and at very good wit therein, not fooling. The house full, and in all things of mighty content to me. To the new Exchange, where, at my bookseller's, I saw "The History of the Royal Society," which, I believe, is a fine book, and have bespoke one in quires. To my chamber, and read the history of '88 in Speede, in order to my seeing the play thereof acted tomorrow at the King's house. Everybody wonders that we have no news from Bredah of the ratification of the peace, and do suspect that there is some stop in it.

17th. To the King's playhouse, where the house extraordinary full; and there the King and Duke of York to see the new play, *Queen Elizabeth's Troubles and the History of Eighty-Eight*. I confess I have

sucked in so much of the sad story of Queen Elizabeth, from my cradle, that I was ready to weep for her sometimes; but the play is the most ridiculous that sure ever came upon the stage, and, indeed, is merely a show, only shows the true garb of the Queen in those days, just as we see Queen Mary and Queen Elizabeth painted, but the play is merely a puppet play, acted by living puppets. Neither the design nor language better, and one stands by and tells us the meaning of things, only I was pleased to see Knipp dance among the milkmaids, and to hear her sing a song to Queen Elizabeth, and to see her come out in her nightgown with no locks on, but her bare face and hair only tied up in a knot behind, which is the comeliest dress that ever I saw her in to her advantage. Went as far as Mile End with Sir W. Pen, whose coach took him up there for his country house, and after having drunk there, at the Rose and Crown, a good house for Aldermen Bide's ale, we parted.

18th. To Cree Church, to see how it is, but I find no alteration there, as they say there was, for my Lord Mayor and Aldermen to come to sermon, as they do every Sunday, as they did formerly to Paul's. There dined with me Mr. Turner and his daughter Betty. Betty is grown a fine young lady as to carriage and discourse. We had a good haunch of venison, powdered and boiled, and a good dinner.



I walked towards Whitehall, but, being wearied, turned into St. Dunstan's Church, where I heard an able sermon of the minister of the place, and stood by a pretty, modest maid, whom I did labour to take by the hand, but she would not, but got further and further from me, and at last I could perceive her to take pins out of her pocket to prick me if I should touch her again—which, seeing, I did forbear, and was glad I did spy her design. And then I fell to gaze upon another pretty maid in a pew close to me, and she on me, and I did go about to take her by the hand, which she suffered a little, and then withdrew. So the sermon ended, and the church broke up, and my amours ended also. Took coach and home, and there took up wife, and to Islington. Between that and Kingsland there happened an odd adventure: one of our coach-horses fell sick of the staggers, so as he was ready to fall down. The coachman was fain to alight, and hold him up, and cut his tongue to make him bleed, and his tail; then he blew some tobacco in his nose, upon which the horse sneezed, and by-and-by grew well, and drew us all the rest of our way, as well as ever he did.

19th. To the Duke of York's house, all alone, and there saw *Sir Martin Marall* again, though I saw him but two days since, and do find it the most comical play that ever I saw in my life. Mr. Moore

do agree with most people that I meet with, that we shall fall into a commonwealth in a few years, whether we will or no, for the charge of a monarchy is such as the kingdom cannot be brought to bear willingly, nor are things managed so well nowadays under it as heretofore.

20th. Sir W. Coventry fell to discourse of retrenchments, and therein he tells how he would have but only one Clerk of the Acts. He do tell me he hath propounded how the charge of the navy in peace shall come within £200,000, by keeping out twenty-four ships in summer, and ten in the winter. And several other particulars we went over of retrenchment, and I find I must provide some things to offer, that I may be found studious to lessen the King's charge. We up to the Duke of York, but no money to be heard of—nay, not £100 upon the most pressing service that can be imagined of bringing the King's timber from Whittlewood, while we have the utmost want of it. Sir W. Coventry did single out Sir W. Pen and me, and desired us to lend the King some money, out of the prizes we have taken by Hogg. He did not much press it, and we made but a merry answer thereto; but I perceive he did ask it seriously, and did tell us that there never was so much need of it in the world as now, we being brought to the lowest straits that can be in the

world. My wife mighty pressing for a new pair of cuffs, which I am against the laying out of money upon yet, which makes her angry.

21st. I sent my cousin Roger a tierce of claret, which I give him. This morning came two of Captain Cocke's boys, whose voices are broke, and are gone from the chapel, but have extraordinary skill; and they and my boy, with his broken voice, did sing three parts; their names were Blaew and Loggings, but, notwithstanding their skill, yet to hear them sing with their broken voices, which they could not command to keep in tune, would make a man mad, so bad it was.

22nd. Up, and to the office, whence Lord Brouncker, J. Minnes, W. Pen, and I went to examine some men that are put in there, for rescuing of men that were pressed into the service; and we do plainly see that the desperate condition that we put men into for want of their pay makes them mad, they being as good men as ever were in the world, and would as readily serve the King again, were they but paid. Two men leaped overboard, among others, into the Thames, out of the vessel into which they were pressed, and were shot by the soldiers placed there to keep them two days since, so much people do avoid the King's service! And then these men are pressed without money, and so we cannot punish them for anything, so that we are forced

only to make a show of severity by keeping them in prison, but are unable to punish them. Returning to the office, I did ask whether we might visit Commissioner Pett, to which I confess I have no great mind: and it was answered that he was a close prisoner, and we could not; but the Lieutenant of the Tower would send for him to his lodgings, if we would: so we put it off to another time. To Captain Cocke's to dinner; where Lord Brouncker and his lady, Matt. Wren, and Bulteale, and Sir Allen Apsley; the last of whom did make good sport, he being already fallen under the retrenchments of the new Committee, as he is Master Falconer; which makes him mad, and swears that we are doing what the Parliament would have done—that is, that we are now endeavouring to destroy one another. But it was well observed by some one at the table that they do not think this retrenchment of the King's charge will be so acceptable to the Parliament, they having given the King a revenue of so many £100,000 a year more than his predecessors had, that he might live in pomp, like a king. With my Lord Brouncker and his mistress to the King's playhouse, and there saw *The Indian Emperor*, where I find Nell come again, which I am glad of; but was most infinitely displeased with her being put to act the Emperor's daughter, which is a great and serious part, which she does most basely. The rest of the play, though pretty good, was not well acted by most of them, methought;

so that I took no great content in it. But that that troubled me most was, that Knipp sent by Moll to desire to speak to me after the play; and she beckoned to me at the end of the play, and I promised to come; but it was so late, and I forced to step to Mrs. Williams's lodgings with my Lord Brouncker and her, where I did not stay, however, for fear of her showing me her closet, and thereby forcing me to give her something; and it was so late, that for fear of my wife's coming home before me, I was forced to go straight home, which troubled me. Anon, late, comes home my wife, with Mr. Turner and Mrs. Turner, with whom she supped, having been with Mrs. Turner to-day at her daughter's school, to see her daughter's dancing, and the rest, which she says is fine. My wife very fine to-day, in her new suit of laced cuffs and perquisites. This evening Mr. Pelling comes to me, and tells me that this night the Dutch letters are come, and that the peace was proclaimed there the 19th inst., and that all is finished; which, for my life, I know not whether to be glad or sorry for, a peace being so necessary, and yet so bad in its terms.

23rd. Abroad to Whitehall in a hackney coach with Sir W. Pen; and in our way, in the narrow street near Paul's, going the backway by Tower Street, and the coach being forced to put back, he was turning himself into a cellar, which made people cry out to us, and so we were forced to leap out—he out of one, and I out

of the other door. *Query*, whether a glass coach would have permitted us to have made the escape? neither of us getting any hurt; nor could the coach have got much hurt had we been in it; but, however, there was cause enough for us to do what we could to save ourselves. So being all dusty, we put into the Castle tavern, by the Savoy, and there brushed ourselves. To Whitehall, to attend the Council. The King there: and it was about considering how the fleet might be discharged at their coming in shortly, the peace being now ratified, and it takes place on Monday next. I to Westminster to the Exchequer, to see what sums of money other people will lend upon the Act; and find of all sizes, from £1,000 to £100—nay, to £50, and to £20, and to £5: for I find that one Dr. Reade, Doctor of Law, gives no more, and others of them £20; which is a poor thing, methinks, that we should stoop so low as to borrow such sums. Upon the whole, I do think to lend, since I must lend, £300, though, God knows! it is much against my will to lend my [money], unless things were in better condition, and likely to continue so. To the Treasury chamber, where I waited, talking with Sir G. Downing, till the Lords met. He tells me how he will make all the Exchequer officers, of one side and the other, to lend the King money upon the Act; and that the least clerk shall lend money, and he believes the least will £100: but this I do not believe. He made me almost

ashamed that we of the Navy had not in all this time lent any; so that I find it necessary I should, and so will speedily do it, before any of my fellows begin, and lead me to a bigger sum. By-and-by the Lords come; and I perceive Sir W. Coventry is the man, and nothing done till he comes. Among other things, I heard him observe, looking over a paper, that Sir John Shaw is a miracle of a man, for he thinks he executes more places than any man in England; for there he finds him a surveyor of some of the King's woods, and so reckoned up many other places, the most inconsistent in the world. Their business with me was to consider how to assign such of our commanders as will take assignments upon the Act for their wages; and the consideration thereof was referred to me to give them an answer the next sitting: which is a horrid poor thing: but they scruple at nothing of honour in the case. So away, and called my wife, and to the King's house, and saw *The Maiden Queen*, which pleased us mightily; and then away, and took up Mrs. Turner at her door, and so to Mile End, and there drank, and so back to her house, it being a fine evening, and there supped. The first time I ever was there since they lived there; and she hath all things so neat and well done, that I am mightily pleased with her, and all she does. So here very merry, and then home and to bed. I find most people pleased with their being at ease, and safe of a peace, that they may know no more charge or hazard

of an ill-managed war: but nobody speaking of the peace with any content or pleasure, but are silent in it, as of a thing they are ashamed of; no, not at Court, much less in the City.

24th. (St. Bartholomew's Day.) This morning was proclaimed the peace between us and the States of the United Provinces, and also the King of France and Denmark; and in the afternoon the proclamations were printed and came out; and at night the bells rung, but no bonfires that I hear of anywhere, partly from the dearness of firing, but principally from the little content most people have in the peace. After dinner to a play, and there saw *The Cardinal* at the King's house, wherewith I am mightily pleased; but above all, with Becke Marshall. But it is pretty to see how I looked up and down for, and did spy Knipp, but durst not own it to my wife, for fear of angering her, and so I was forced not to take notice of her, and so homeward: and my belly now full with plays, that I do intend to bind myself to see no more till Michaelmas. Most of our discourse is about our keeping a coach the next year, which pleases my wife mightily; and if I continue as able as now, it will save us money. This day comes a letter from the Duke of York to the Board to invite us, which is as much as to fright us, into the lending the King money; which is a poor thing, and most dishonourable, and shows in what a case we are at the end of the war to our neighbours.



And the King do now declare publicly to give 10 per cent. to all lenders; which makes some think that the Dutch themselves will send over money, and lend it upon our public faith, the Act of Parliament.

25th. (Lord's Day.) Up, and to church, and thence home; and Pelling comes by invitation to dine with me, and much pleasant discourse with him. After dinner, away by water to Whitehall, where I landed Pelling, who is going to his wife, where she is in the country, at Parson's Green; and myself to Westminster and to the parish church, thinking to see Betty Michell, and did stay an hour in the crowd, thinking, by the end of a nose that I saw, that it had been her; but at last the head turned towards me, and it was her mother, which vexed me. So I back to my boat, which had broken one of her oars in rowing, and had now fastened it again; and so I up to Putney, and there stepped into the church, to look upon the fine people there, whereof there is great store, and the young ladies; and so walked to Barn Elms, whither I sent Russel, reading of Boyle's "Hydrostatics," which are of infinite delight. I walked in the Elms a good while, and then to my boat, and leisurely home with great pleasure to myself, and there supped, and W. Hewer with us, with whom a great deal of good talk touching the office, and so to bed.

26th. To the office, where we sat upon a particular business all the morning; and my Lord Anglesea with

us, who, and my Lord Brouncker, do bring us news how my Lord Chancellor's seal is to be taken away from him to-day. The thing is so great and sudden to me, that it put me into a very great admiration what should be the meaning of it; and they do not own that they know what it should be: but this is certain, that the King did resolve it on Saturday; and did yesterday send the Duke of Albemarle, the only man fit for those works, to him for his purse, to which the Chancellor answered, that he received it from the King, and would deliver it to the King's own hand, and so civilly returned the Duke of Albemarle without it; and this morning my Lord Chancellor is to be with the King, to come to an end in the business. Dined at Sir W. Batten's, where Mr. Boreman was, who came from Whitehall; who tells us that he saw my Lord Chancellor come in his coach with some of his men, without his seal, to Whitehall to his chamber; and thither the King and Duke of York came and stayed together alone, an hour or more: and it is said that the King do say that he will have the Parliament meet, and that it will prevent much trouble by having of him out of their enmity, by his place being taken away; for that all their enmity will be at him. It is said also that my Lord Chancellor answers, that he desires he may be brought to his trial, if he have done anything to lose his office; and that he will be willing, and is most desirous, to lose that and his head both together. Upon what

terms they parted nobody knows: but the Chancellor looked sad, he says. Then in comes Sir Richard Ford, and says he hears that there is nobody more presses to reconcile the King and Chancellor than the Duke of Albemarle and Duke of Buckingham: the latter of which is very strange, not only that he who was so lately his enemy should do it, but that this man, that but the other day was in danger of losing his own head, should so soon come to be a mediator for others: it shows a wise Government. They all say that he (Clarendon) is but a poor man, not worth above £3,000 a year in land; but this I cannot believe, and all do blame him for having built so great a house till he had got a better estate. So I walked to the King's playhouse, and saw *The Surprisal*, a very mean play, I thought: or else it was because I was out of humour, and but very little company in the house. Sir W. Pen and I had a great deal of discourse with Moll, who tells us that Nell is already left by my Lord Buckhurst, and that he makes sport of her, and swears she hath had all she could get of him; and Hart, her great admirer, now hates her; and that she is very poor, and hath lost my Lady Castlemaine, who was her great friend also: but she is come to the House, but is neglected by them all.

27th. To Whitehall, and there hear how it is like to go well enough with my Lord Chancellor; that he is like to keep his seal, desiring that he may stand his

trial in Parliament, if they will accuse him of anything. Here Sir J. Minnes and I looking upon the pictures; and Mr. Cheffins, being by, did take us, of his own accord, into the King's closet, to show us some pictures, which, indeed, is a very noble place, and exceeding great variety of brave pictures, and the best hands. I could have spent three or four hours there well, and we had great liberty to look; and Cheffins seemed to take pleasure to show us and commend the pictures. I to visit Colonel Fitzgerald, who hath been sick at Woolwich, where most of the officers and soldiers quartered there, since the Dutch being in the river, have died or been sick, and he among the rest; and, by the growth of his beard and grey hairs, I did not know him. This day, Mr. Pierce, the surgeon, was with me; and tells me how this business of my Lord Chancellor's was certainly designed in my Lady Castlemaine's chamber: and that, when he went from the King on Monday morning, she ran out into her aviary looking into Whitehall garden; and thither her woman brought her her nightgown, and stood blessing herself at the old man's going away: and several of the gallants of Whitehall, of which there were many staying to see the Chancellor's return, did talk to her in her birdcage; among others, Blancford, telling her she was the bird of passage.

28th. Up; and stayed undressed till my tailor's boy did mend my vest, in order to my going to the

christening anon. To Whitehall: till past twelve in a crowd of people in the lobby, expecting the hearing of the great cause of Alderman Barker against my Lord Deputy of Ireland, for his ill-usage in his business of land there; but the King and Council sat so long, as they neither heard them nor me. So when they rose, I into the House, and saw the King and Queen at dinner, and heard a little of their violin music, and so home. In the afternoon with my Lady Batten, Pen, and her daughter, and my wife, to Mrs. Poole's, where I mightily merry among the women, and christened the child, a girl, Elizabeth, which, though a girl, yet my Lady Batten would have me to give the name. After christening comes Sir W. Batten, W. Pen, and Mr. Lowther, and mightily merry there, and I forfeited for not kissing the two godmothers presently after the christening before I kissed the mother, which made good mirth. Went twice round Bartholomew Fair, which I was glad to see again, after two years' missing it by the plague.

29th. Mr. Moore tells me that my Lord Crewe and his friends take it very ill of me that my Lord Sandwich's sea-fee should be retrenched, and so reported from this office, and I give them no notice of it. The thing, though I know it to be false—at least, that nothing went from our office towards it—yet it troubled me, and therefore I went and dined with my Lord Crewe, and I did enter into that discourse, and

laboured to satisfy him; but found, though he said little, yet that he was not yet satisfied; but after dinner did pray me to go and see how it was, whether true or no. Did tell me that if I was not their friend they could trust to nobody, and that he did not forget my service and love to my lord, and adventures for him in dangerous times, and therefore would not willingly doubt me now; but yet asked my pardon if, upon this news, he did begin to fear it. This did mightily trouble me: so I away thence to Whitehall, but could do nothing. In the evening to Whitehall again, and there met Sir Richard Browne, clerk to the committee for retrenchments, who assures me no one word was ever yet mentioned about my lord's salary; and the mistake ended very merrily, and to all our contents. I find at Sir G. Carteret's that they do mightily joy themselves in the hopes of my Lord Chancellor's getting over this trouble; and I make them believe, and so, indeed, I do believe he will, that my Lord Chancellor is become popular by it. I find by all hands that the Court is at this day all to pieces, every man of a faction of one sort or other, so as it is to be feared what it will come to. But that that pleases me is, I hear to-night that Mr. Brouncker is turned away yesterday by the Duke of York, for some bold words he was heard by Colonel Werden to say in the garden, the day the Chancellor was with the King—that he believed the King would be hectored

out of everything. For this the Duke of York, who all say hath been very strong for his father-in-law at this trial, hath turned him away: and everybody, I think, is glad of it; for he was a pestilent rogue, an atheist, that would have sold his King and country for 6d. almost, so corrupt and wicked a rogue he is, by all men's report. But one observed to me that there never was the occasion of men's holding their tongues at Court and everywhere else as there is at this day, for nobody knows which side will be uppermost.

30th. At Whitehall I met with Sir G. Downing, who tells me of Sir W. Pen's offering to lend £500; and I tell him of my £300, which he would have me to lend upon the credit of the latter part of the Act; saying, that by that means my 10 per cent. will continue to me the longer. But I understand better, and will do it upon the £380,000, which will come to be paid the sooner; there being no delight in lending money now, to be paid by the King two years hence. But here he and Sir William Doyly were attending the Council as commissioners for sick and wounded and prisoners: and they told me their business, which was to know how we shall do to release our prisoners, for it seems the Dutch have got us to agree in the treaty, as they fool us in anything, that the diet of the prisoners on both sides shall be paid for before they be released: which they have done, knowing ours to run high, they having more

prisoners of ours than we have of theirs, so that they are able and most ready to discharge the debt of theirs, but we are neither able nor willing to do that for ours, the debt of those in Zealand only amounting to above £5,000 for men taken in the King's own ships, besides others taken in merchantmen, who expect, as is usual, that the King should redeem them; but I think he will not, by what Sir G. Downing says. This our prisoners complain of there; and say in their letters, which Sir G. Downing showed me, that they have made a good feat that they should be taken in the service of the King, and the King not pay for their victuals while prisoners for him. But so far they are from doing thus with their men, as we do to discourage ours, that I find in the letters of some of our prisoners there, which he showed me, that they have with money got our men that they took to work and carry their ships home for them; and they have been well rewarded and released when they came into Holland, which is done like a noble, brave, and wise people. To Walthamstow, to Sir W. Pen's, by invitation; a very bad dinner, and everything suitable. Merry at some ridiculous humours of my Lady Batten, who, as being an ill-bred woman, would take exceptions at anything anybody said, and I made good sport at it. Into the garden and wilderness, which is like the rest of the house, nothing in order nor looked after. By-and-by my Lady Viner came to see Mrs. Lowther, and all the



pleasure I had here was to see her, which I did, and saluted her, and find she is pretty, though not so eminently so as people talked of her, and of very pretty carriage and discourse. Leaving my wife to come home with them, I to Bartholomew Fair, to walk up and down; and there, among other things, find my Lady Castlemaine at a puppet-play, *Patient Grizel*, and the street full of people expecting her coming out. I confess I did wonder at her courage to come abroad, thinking the people would abuse her; but they, silly people, do not know the work she makes, and therefore suffered her with great respect to take coach, and she away without any trouble at all. I, among others, saw Tom Pepys the turner, who had a shop, and I think lives in the fair when the fair is not. Captain Cocke tells me that there is yet expectation that the Chancellor will lose the Seal; and assures me that there have been high words between the Duke of York and Sir W. Coventry for his being so high against the Chancellor; so as the Duke of York would not sign some papers that he brought, saying that he could not endure the sight of him, and that Sir W. Coventry answered that what he did was in obedience to the King's commands, and that he did not think any man fit to serve a prince that did not know how to retire and live a country life.

31st. At the office all the morning; where by Sir W. Pen I do hear that the Seal was fetched away to

the King yesterday from the Lord Chancellor by Secretary Morrice; which puts me into a great horror. My Lord Brouncker tells me that he hath of late discoursed about this business with Sir W. Coventry, who he finds is the great man in the doing this business of the Chancellor's, and that he do persevere in it, though against the Duke of York's opinion, to which he says that the Duke of York was once of the same mind, and if he had thought fit since, for any reason, to alter his mind, he hath not found any to alter his own, and so desires to be excused, for it is for the King's and kingdom's good. And it seems that the Duke of York himself was the first man that did speak to the King of this, though he hath since altered his mind; and W. Coventry did tell the Duke of York that he was not fit to serve a prince that did not know how to retire and live a private life, and that he was ready for that, if it be his and the King's pleasure. In the evening Mr. Ball, of the Excise Office, tells me that the Seal is delivered to Sir Orlando Bridgeman; the man of the whole nation that is the best spoken of, and will please most people; and therefore I am mighty glad of it. He was then at my Lord Arlington's, whither I went, expecting to see him come out; but stayed so long, and Sir W. Coventry coming there, whom I had not a mind should see me there idle upon a post-night, I went home without seeing him; but he is there with his Seal in his hand. This day, being dissatisfied with

my wife's learning so few songs of Goodgroome, I did come to a new bargain with him to teach her songs at so much, viz., 10s. a song, which he accepts 6r, and will teach her.

*September 1st. (Lord's Day.)* Up, and betimes by water from the Tower, and called at the Old Swan for a glass of strong water, and sent word to have little Michell and his wife come and dine with us to-day; and so, taking in a gentleman and his lady that wanted a boat, to Westminster. Our new Lord-keeper, Bridgeman, did this day, the first time, attend the King to chapel with his Seal. Sir H. Cholmly tells me there are hopes that the women also will have a rout, and particularly that my Lady Castlemaine is coming to a composition with the King to be gone; but how true this is I know not. Blanford is made Privy Purse to the Duke of York; the Attorney-General is made Chief Justice, in the room of my Lord Bridgeman; the Solicitor-General is made Attorney-General; and Sir Edward Turner made Solicitor-General. It is pretty to see how strange everybody looks, nobody knowing whence this arises; whether from my Lady Castlemaine, Bab May, and their faction; or from the Duke of York, notwithstanding his great appearance of defence of the Chancellor; or from Sir William Coventry, and some few with him. But greater changes are yet expected. Spent all the afternoon, Pelling, Howe, and I, and

my boy, singing of Lock's responses to the Ten Commandments, which he hath set very finely, and was a good while since sung before the King, and spoiled in the performance, which occasioned his printing them for his vindication, and are excellent good.

2nd. This day is kept in the City as a public fast for the fire this day twelve months? but I was not at church, being commanded, with the rest, to attend the Duke of York; and, therefore, with Sir J. Minnes to St. James's, where we had much business before the Duke of York, and observed all things to be very kind between the Duke of York and Sir W. Coventry, which did mightily joy me. When we had done, Sir W. Coventry called me down with him to his chamber, and there told me that he is leaving the Duke of York's service, which I was amazed at. But he tells me that it is not with the least unkindness on the Duke of York's side, though he expects, and I told him he was in the right, it will be interpreted otherwise, because done just at this time: "but," says he, "I did desire it a good while since, and the Duke of York did, with much entreaty, grant it, desiring that I would say nothing of it, that he might have time and liberty to choose his successor, without being importuned for others whom he should not like:" and that he hath chosen Mr. Wren, which I am glad of, he being a very ingenious man; and so Sir W. Coventry says of him, though he knows him little; but particularly commends

him for the book he writ in answer to Harrington's "Oceana," which, for that reason, I intend to buy. He tells me the true reason is, that he, being a man not willing to undertake more business than he can go through, and being desirous to have his whole time to spend upon the business of the Treasury, and a little for his own ease, he did desire this of the Duke of York. He assures me that the kindness with which he goes away from the Duke of York is one of the greatest joys that ever he had in the world. I used some freedom with him, telling him how the world hath discoursed of his having offended the Duke of York, about the late business of the Chancellor. He does not deny it, but says that perhaps the Duke of York might have some reason for it, he opposing him in a thing wherein he was so earnest; but tells me, that notwithstanding all that, the Duke of York does not now, nor can blame him; for he was the man that did propose the removal of the Chancellor: and that he did still persist in it, and at this day publicly owns it, and is glad of it; but that the Duke of York knows that he did first speak of it to the Duke of York, before he spoke to any mortal creature besides, which was fair dealing: and the Duke of York was then of the same mind with him, and did speak of it to the King; though since, for reasons best known to himself, he afterwards altered. I did then desire to know what was the great matter that grounded his desire of the

Chancellor's removal. He told me many things not fit to be spoken, and yet not anything of his being unfaithful to the King; but, *instar omnium*, he told me that while he was so great at the Council board, and in the administration of matters, there was no room for anybody to propose any remedy to what was amiss, or to compass anything, though never so good, for the kingdom, unless approved of by the Chancellor, he managing all things with that greatness which now will be removed, that the King may have the benefit of others' advice. I then told him that the world hath an opinion that he hath joined himself with my Lady Castlemaine's faction: but in this business, he told me, he cannot help it, but says they are in an error: for he will never, while he lives, truckle under anybody or any faction, but do just as his own reason and judgment direct; and, when he cannot use that freedom, he will have nothing to do in public affairs; but then he added, that he never was the man that ever had any discourse with my Lady Castlemaine, or with others from her, about this or any public business, nor ever made her a visit, or at least not this twelvemonth, or been in her lodgings but when called on any business to attend the King there, nor hath had anything to do in knowing her mind in this business. He ended all with telling me that he knows that he that serves a Prince must expect, and be contented to stand, all fortunes, and be provided to retreat, and that he is

most willing to do whatever the King shall please. And so we parted, he setting me down out of his coach at Charing Cross, and desired me to tell Sir W. Pen what he had told me of his leaving the Duke of York's service, that his friends might not be the last that know it. I took a coach and went homewards, but then turned again, and to Whitehall, where I met with many people: and, among other things, do learn that there is some fear that Mr. Brouncker is got into the King's favour, and will be cherished there; which will breed ill will between the King and Duke of York, he lodging at this time in Whitehall since he was put away from the Duke of York: and he is great with Bab May, my Lady Castlemaine, and that wicked crew. But I find this denied by Sir G. Carteret, who tells me that he is sure he hath no kindness from the King; that the King at first, indeed, did endeavour to persuade the Duke of York from putting him away; but when, besides this business of his ill words concerning his Majesty in the business of the Chancellor, he told him that he hath had, a long time, a mind to put him away for his ill offices done between him and his wife, the King held his peace, and said no more, but wished him to do what he pleased with him; which was very noble. I met with Fenn; and he tells me, as I do hear from some others, that the business of the Chancellor's had proceeded from something of a mistake, for the Duke of York did first

• tell the King that the Chancellor had a desire to be eased of his great trouble; and that the King, when the Chancellor came to him, did wonder to hear him deny it, and the Duke of York was forced to deny to the King that ever he did tell him so in those terms: but the King did answer that he was sure that he did say some such things to him; but, however, since it had gone so far, did desire him to be contented with it, as a thing very convenient for him, as well as for himself, the King: and so matters proceeded as we find. Now it is likely the Chancellor might, some time or other, in a compliment or vanity, say to the Duke of York that he was weary of this burden, and I know not what; and this comes of it. Some people, and myself among them, are of good hope from this change that things are reforming; but there are others that do think it is a hit of chance, as all other our greatest matters are, and that there is no general plot or contrivance in any number of people what to do next, though, I believe, Sir W. Coventry may in himself have further designs; and so that, though other changes may come, yet they shall be accidental and laid upon [no] good principles of doing good. Mr. May showed me the King's new buildings, in order to their having of some old sails for the closing of the windows this winter. I dined with Sir G. Carteret, with whom dined Mr. Jack Ashburnham and Dr. Creeton, whom I observe to be a most good man and



scholar. In discourse at dinner concerning the change of men's humours and fashions touching meats, Mr. Ashburnham told us, that he remembers since the only fruit in request, and eaten by the King and Queen at table as the best fruit, was the Catharine pear, though they knew at the time other fruits of France and our own country. After dinner comes in Mr. Townsend; and there I was witness of a horrid rating, which Mr. Ashburnham, as one of the grooms of the King's Bedchamber, did give him for want of linen for the King's person; which he swore was not to be endured, and that the King would not endure it, and that the King his father would have hanged his wardrobe-man should he have been served so; the King having at this day no handkerchiefs, and but three bands to his neck, he swore. Mr. Townsend pleaded want of money, and the owing of the linendraper £5,000; and that he hath of late got many rich things made—beds, and sheets, and saddles, without money, and that he can go no further: but still this old man, indeed, like an old loving servant, did cry out for the King's person to be neglected. But, when he was gone, Townsend told me that it is the grooms' taking away the King's linen at the quarter's end, as their fee, which makes this great want: for, whether the King can get it or no, they will run away at the quarter's end with what he hath had, let the King get more as he can. All the company gone, Sir G. Carteret and I to talk: and it is

pretty to observe how already he says that he did always look upon the Chancellor indeed as his friend, though he never did do him any service at all, nor ever got anything by him, nor was he a man apt—and that, I think, is true—to do any man any kindness of his own nature; though I do know that he was believed by all the world to be the greatest support of Sir G. Carteret with the King of any man in England: but so little is now made of it! He observes that my Lord Sandwich will lose a great friend in him; and I think so too, my Lord Hinchinbroke being about a match calculated purely out of respect to my Lord Chancellor's family. By-and-by Sir G. Carteret, and Townsend, and I, to consider of an answer to the Commissioners of the Treasury about my Lord Sandwich's profits in the Wardrobe: which seem, as we make them, to be very small, not £1,000 a year; but only the difference in measure at which he buys and delivers out to the King, and then 6d. in the pound from the tradesman for what money he receives for him; but this, it is believed, these Commissioners will endeavour to take away. From him I went to see a great match at tennis, between Prince Rupert and one Captain Cooke, against Bab May and the elder Chichly; where the King was, and Court, and it seems they are the best players at tennis in the nation. But this puts me in mind of what I observed in the morning, that the King, playing at tennis, had a steel-yard carried to

him, and I was told it was to weigh him after he had done playing: and at noon Mr. Ashburnham told me that it is only the King's curiosity, which he usually hath of weighing himself before and after his play, to see how much he loses in weight by playing: and this day he lost  $4\frac{1}{2}$  lbs. I to Sir W. Batten and Sir W. Pen, and there discoursed of Sir W. Coventry's leaving the Duke of York, and Mr. Wren's succeeding him. They told me both seriously, that they had long cut me out for secretary to the Duke of York, if ever Sir W. Coventry left him; which, agreeing with what I have heard from other hands heretofore, do make me not only think that something of that kind hath been thought on, but do comfort me to see that the world hath such an esteem of my qualities as to think me fit for any such thing; though I am glad with all my heart that I am not so; for it would never please me to be forced to the attendance that that would require, and leave my wife and family to themselves, as I must do in such a case; thinking myself now in the best place that ever man was in to please his own mind in, and therefore I will take care to preserve it.

3rd. Attended the Duke of York about the list of ships that we propose to sell: and here there attended Mr. Wren the first time, who hath not yet, I think, received the Duke of York's seal and papers. At our coming hither we found the Duke and Duchess all alone at dinner, methought melancholy; or else

• I thought so, from the late occasion of the Chancellor's fall, who, they say, however, takes it very contentedly.

4th. By coach to Whitehall to the Council-chamber; and there met with Sir W. Coventry going in, who took me aside, and told me he was just come from delivering up his seal and papers to Mr. Wren; and told me he must now take his leave of me as a naval man, but that he shall always bear respect to his friends there, and particularly to myself, with great kindness; which I returned to him with thanks, and so, with much kindness, parted: and he into the Council. Sir Samuel Morland showed me two orders upon the Exchequer, one of £600, and another of £400, for money assigned to him, which he would have me lend him money upon, and he would allow 12 per cent. I would not meddle with them, though they are very good; and I would, had I not so much money out already on public credit. But I see by this his condition all trade will be bad. Stayed and heard Alderman Barker's case of his being abused by the Council of Ireland, touching his lands there: all I observed there was the silliness of the King, playing with his dog all the while, and not minding the business; and what he said was mighty weak: but my Lord Keeper I observe to be a mighty able man. With my wife and W. Hewer to Bartholomew Fair, and there Polfchinelli, where we saw Mrs. Clerke and

all her crew; and so to a private house, and sent for a side of pig, and ate it at an acquaintance of W. Hewer's, where there were some learned phisic and chemical books, and among others a natural "Herbal" very fine. To the Duke of York's playhouse, and there saw *Mustapha*, which the more I see the more I like; and is a most admirable poem, and bravely acted: only both Betterton and Harris could not contain from laughing in the midst of a most serious part, from the ridiculous mistake of one of the men upon the stage; which I did not like.

5th. To the Duke of York's house, and there saw *Heraclius*, which is a good play; but they did so spoil it with their laughing, and being all of them out, and with the noise they made within the theatre, that I was ashamed of it, and resolved not to come thither again a good while, believing that this negligence, which I never observed before, proceeds only from their want of company in the pit, that they have no care how they act. This morning, I was told by Sir W. Batten, that he do hear from Mr. Grey, who hath good intelligence, that our Queen is to go into a nunnery, there to spend her days; and that my Lady Castlemaine is going into France, and is to have a pension of £4,000 a year. This latter I do more believe than the other, it being very wise in her to do it, and save all she hath, besides easing the King and kingdom of a burden and reproach.

6th. To Westminster, and then into the Hall, and there bought "Guillim's Heraldry." To Bartholomew Fair, and there, it being very dirty, and now night, we saw a poor fellow, whose legs were tied behind his back, dance upon his hands with his breech above his head, and also dance upon his crutches, without any legs upon the ground to help him, which he did with that pain that I was sorry to see it, and did pity him and give him money after he had done. Then we to see a piece of clockwork made by an Englishman—indeed, very good, wherein all the several states of man's age, to 100 years old, are shown very pretty and solemn; and several other things more cheerful, and so we ended, and took a link, the women resolving to be dirty, and walked up and down to get a coach; and my wife, being a little before me, had like to be taken up by one, whom we saw to be Sam Hartlib. My wife had her vizard on: yet we cannot say that he meant any hurt; for it was just as she was by a coach-side, which he had, or had a mind to take up; and he asked her, "Madam, do you go in this coach?" but as soon as he saw a man come to her, I know not whether he knows me, he departed away apace. By-and-by did get a coach, and so away home, and there to supper, and to bed.

7th. To the 'Change, and I to see the price of a copper cistern for the table, which is very pretty, and

they demand £6 or £7 for one; but I will have one. Bought a nightgown for my wife: cost but 24s.

8th. To St. James's; but there I find Sir W. Coventry gone from his chamber, and Mr. Wren not yet come thither. With my Lord Brouncker, and he told me, in discourse, how that, though it is true that Sir W. Coventry did long since propose to the Duke of York the leaving his service, as being unable to fulfil it as he should do, now he hath so much public business, and that the Duke of York did bid him to say nothing of it, but that he would take time to please himself in another to come in his place; yet the Duke, doing it at this time, declaring that he hath found out another, and this one of the Chancellor's servants, he cannot but think was done with some displeasure, and that it could not well be otherwise, that the Duke of York should keep one in that place that had so eminently opposed him in the defence of his father-in-law, nor could the Duchess ever endure the sight of him, to be sure. But he thinks that the Duke of York and he are parted upon clear terms of friendship. Lord Brouncker says he do believe that my Lady Castlemaine is compounding with the King for a pension, and to leave the Court; but that her demands are mighty high: but he believes the King is resolved, and so do everybody else I speak with, to do all possible to please the Parliament; and he do declare that he will deliver everybody up to give an account of their

actions: and that last Friday, it seems, there was an Act of Council passed to put out all Papists in office, and to keep out any from coming in. I went to the King's Chapel to the closet, and there I heard Cresset sing a tenor part along with the church music very handsomely, but so loud that people did laugh at him, as a thing done for ostentation. Here I met Sir G. Downing, who would speak with me, and first to inquire what I paid for my kid leather gloves I had on my hand, and showed me others on his, as handsome as this in all points, cost him but 1s. a pair, and mine me 2s. He told me he had been seven years finding out a man that could dress English sheep-skin as it should be—and, indeed, it is now as good, in all respects, as kid, and he says will save £100,000 a year, that goes out to France for kids' skins. Thus he labours very worthily to advance our own trade, but do it with mighty vanity and talking. But then he told me of our base condition, in the treaty with Holland and France, about our prisoners, that whereas before we did clear one another's prisoners, man for man, and we upon the publication of the peace did release all ours, 300 at Leith, and others in other places for nothing, the Dutch do keep theirs, and will not discharge them without paying their debts according to the treaty. That his instruments in Holland, writing to our ambassadors about this to Breda, they answer them that they do not know of anything that they have



done therein, but left it just as it was before. To which, when they answer, that by the treaty their Lordships had not bound our countrymen to pay their debts in prison, they answer they cannot help it, and we must get them off as cheap as we can. On this score, they demand £1,100 for Sir G. Ascue, and £5,000 for the one province of Zealand, for the prisoners that we have therein. He says that this is a piece of shame that never any nation committed, and that our very Lords here of the Council, when he related this matter to them, did not remember that they had agreed to this article; and swears that all their articles are alike, as the giving away Polleron, and Surinam, and Nova Scotia, which hath a river 300 miles up the country, with copper mines more than Swedeland, and Newcastle coals, the only place in America that hath coals that we know of; and that Cromwell did value those places, and would for ever have made much of them; but we have given them away for nothing, besides a debt to the King of Denmark. But, which is most of all, they have discharged those very particular demands of merchants of the Guinea company and others, which he, when he was there, had adjusted with the Dutch, and come to an agreement in writing, and they undertaken to satisfy, and that this was done in black and white under their hands; and yet we have forgiven all these, and not so much as sent to Sir G. Powning to know

what he had done, or to confer with him about any one point of the treaty, but signed to what they would have, and we here signed to whatever in gross was brought over by Mr. Coventry. And Sir G. Downing tells me just in these words, "My Lord Chancellor had a mind to keep himself from being questioned by clapping up a peace upon any terms." When I answered that there were other Privy Councillors to be advised with besides him, and that, therefore, this whole peace could not be laid to his charge, he answered that nobody durst say anything at the Council table but himself, and that the King was as much afraid of saying anything there as the meanest Privy Councillor; and says more, that at this day the King, in familiar talk, do call the Chancellor "the insolent man," and says that he would not let him speak himself in Council: which is very high, and do show that the Chancellor is like to be in a bad state, unless he can defend himself better than people think. And yet Creed tells me that he do hear that my Lord Cornbury do say that his father do long for the coming of the Parliament, in order to his own vindication, more than any one of his enemies. And here it comes into my head to set down what Mr. Rawlinsom, whom I met in Fenchurch Street on Friday last, looking over his ruins there, told me, that he was told by one of my Lord Chancellor's gentlemen lately, that a grant coming to him to be sealed, wherein the King

hath given my Lady Castlemaine, or somebody by her means, a place which he did not like well of, he did stop the grant; saying, that he thought this woman would sell everything shortly: which she hearing of, she sent to let him know that she had disposed of this place, and did not doubt, in a little time, to dispose of his. To Whitehall, and saw the King and Queen at dinner; and observed, which I never did before, the formality, but it is but a formality, of putting a bit of bread wiped upon each dish into the mouth of every man that brings a dish; but it should be in the sauce. Here were some Russes come to see the King at dinner: among others, the interpreter, a comely Englishman, in the Envoy's own clothes; which the Envoy, it seems, in vanity did send to show his fine clothes upon this man's back, he being one, it seems, of a comelier presence than himself: and yet it is said that none of their clothes are their own, but taken out of the King's own wardrobe; and which they dare not bring back, dirty or spotted, but clean, or are in danger of being beaten, as they say: insomuch that, Sir Charles Cotterell says, when they are to have an audience they never venture to put on their clothes till he appears to come to fetch them; and, as soon as ever they come home, put them off again. I to Sir G. Carteret's to dinner; where Mr. Cofferer Ashburnham, who told a good story of a prisoner's being condemned at Salisbury for a small matter. While he

was on the Bench with his father-in-law, Judge Richardson, and while they were considering to transport him to save his life, the fellow flung a great stone at the judge, that missed him, but broke through the wainscoat. Upon this, he had his hand cut off, and was hanged presently. Here was a gentleman, one Sheres, one come lately from my Lord Sandwich, with an express; but, Lord! I was almost ashamed to see him, lest he should know that I have not yet wrote one letter to my Lord since his going.

9th. After dinner, Creed and I and my wife to the Bear Garden to see a prize fought there. To Whitehall; and here do hear, by Tom Killigrew and Mr. Progers, that for certain news is come of Harman's having spoiled nineteen of twenty-two French ships, somewhere about the Barbadoes, I think they said; but wherever it is, it is a good service, and very welcome. I fell in talk with Tom Killigrew about music, and he tells me that he will bring me to the best music in England, of which, indeed, he is master, and that is two Italians and Mrs. Yates, who, he says, is come to sing the Italian manner as well as ever he heard any. he says that Knipp won't take pains enough, but that she understands her part so well upon the stage, that no man or woman in the house do the like. To the Bear Garden, where now the yard was full of people, and those most of them seamen, striving by force to get in, that I was afraid to be seen among

them, but got into the ale-house, and so by a back way was put into the bull-house, where I stood a good while all alone among the bulls, and was afraid. I was among the bears too; and by-and-by the doof opened. I got into the common pit; and there, with my cloak about my face, I stood and saw the prize fought, till one of them, a shoemaker, was so cut in both his wrists that he could not fight any longer, and then they broke off: his enemy was a butcher. The sport very good, and various humours to be seen among the rabble that is there. To Sir W. Batten's, to invite them to dinner on Wednesday next, having a whole buck come from Hampton Court, by the warrant which Sir Stephen Fox did give me.

10th. At the office, where little to do but bemoan ourselves under the want of money; and indeed little is, or can be done, we having not now received one penny for any service in many weeks, and none in view, saying for paying of some seamen's wages. To St. James's, where we all met, and did our usual weekly business with the Duke of York. But, Lord! methinks both he and we are mighty flat and dull to what we used to be, when Sir W. Coventry was among us. Met Mr. Povy; and he and I to walk an hour or more in the Pall Mall, talking of the times. He tells me, among other things, that this business of the Chancellor do breed a kind of inward distance between the King and the Duke of York, and that it cannot be

avoided; for though the latter did at first move it through his folly, yet he is made to see that he is wounded by it, and is become much a less man than he was, and so will be; but he tells me that they are, and have always been, great dissemblers one towards another, and that their parting heretofore in France is never to be thoroughly reconciled between them. He tells me that he believes there is no such thing likely to be as a composition with my Lady Castlemaine, and that she shall be got out of the way before the Parliament comes, for he says she is as high as ever she was, though he believes the King is as weary of her as possible, and would give anything to remove her, but he is so weak in his passion that he dare not do it; that he do believe that my Lord Chancellor will be doing some acts in the Parliament which shall render him popular; and that there are many people now do speak kindly of him that did not before; but that if he do do this, it must provoke the King, and that party that removed him. He seems to doubt what the King of France will do, in case an accommodation shall be made between Spain and him for Flanders, for then he will have nothing more easy to do with his army than to subdue us.

11th. Up, and with Mr. Gauden to the Exchequer. By the way, he tells me this day he is to be answered whether he must hold Sheriff or no; for he would not hold unless he may keep it at his office, which is out of

the City, and so my Lord Mayor must come with his sword down whenever he comes thither, which he do, because he cannot get a house fit for him in the City, or else he will fine for it. Among others that they have in nomination for Sheriff, one is little Chaplin, who was his servant, and a very young man to undergo that place; but as the City is now, there is no great honour nor joy to be had in being a public officer. Come to dine with me Sir W. Batten and his lady, and Mr. Griffith, their ward, and Sir W. Pen and his lady, and Mrs. Lowther, who is grown, either through pride or want of manners, a fool, having not a word to say; and as a further mark of a beggarly, proud fool, hath a bracelet of diamonds and rubies about her wrist, and a sixpenny necklace about her neck, and not one good rag of clothes upon her back; and Sir John Chichly in their company, and Mrs. Turner. Here I had an extraordinary good and handsome dinner for them, and better than any of them deserve or understand, saving Sir John Chichly and Mrs. Turner, and not much mirth, only what I by discourse made, and that against my genius. To the Duke of York's play-house, and there saw part of *The Ungrateful Lovers*, and sat by Beck Marshall, whose hand is very handsome. Here came Mr. Moore, and sat and discoursed with me of public matters: the sum of which is, that he do doubt that there is more at the bottom than the removal of the Chancellor; that is, he do verily believe

that the King do resolve to declare the Duke of Monmouth legitimate, and that we shall soon see it. This I do not think the Duke of York will endure without blows; but his poverty, and being lessened by having the Chancellor fallen and Sir W. Coventry gone from him, will disable him from being able to do anything almost, he being himself almost lost in the esteem of people; and will be more and more, unless my Lord Chancellor, who is already begun to be pitied by some people, and to be better thought of than was expected, do recover himself in Parliament. He do say that that is very true, that my Lord Chancellor did lately make some stop of some grants of £2,000 a year to my Lord Grandison, which was only in his name, for the use of my Lady Castlemaine's children; and that this did incense her, and she did speak very scornful words, and sent a scornful message to him about it.

12th. To the Exchequer for some tallies for Tangier; and that being done, to the Dog tavern, and there I spent half a piece upon the clerks. To the Duke's house, where *Tu Quoque* was the first time acted, with some alterations of Sir W. Davenant's; but the play is a very silly play, methinks; for I, and others that sat by me, Mr. Povy and Mr. Progers, were weary of it, but it will please the citizens.

13th. Called up by people come to deliver in ten chaldron of coals, brought in one of our prizes from Newcastle. The rest we intend to sell, we having



above ten chaldron between us. They sell at about 28s. or 29s. per chaldron; but Sir W. Batten hath sworn that he was a cuckold that sells under 30s., and that makes us lay up all but what we have for our own spending, which is very pleasant; for I believe we shall be glad to sell them for less.

14th. The King and Duke of York and the whole Court is mighty joyful at the Duchess of York's being brought to bed this day, or yesterday, of a son; which will settle men's minds mightily. And Pierce tells me that he do think that what the King do, of giving the Duke of Monmouth the command of his Guards, and giving my Lord Gerard £12,000 for it, is merely to find an employment for him upon which he may live, and not out of any design to bring him into any title to the Crown; which Mr. Moore did the other day put me into great fear of. To the King's playhouse to see *The Northern Castle*, which I think I never did see before. Knipp acted in it, and did her part very extraordinary well; but the play is but a mean, sorry play; but the house very full of gallants. It seems, it hath not been acted a good while.

15th. (Lord's Day.) To church, where I stood, in continual fear of Mrs. Markham's coming, and offering to come into our pew, to prevent which, soon as ever I heard the great door open, I did stop back, and clap my breech to our pew-door, that she might be forced to shove me to come in; but, as God would have it,

she did not come. Mr. Mills preached, and after sermon, by invitation, he and his wife come to dine with me, which is the first time they have been in my house, I think, these five years, I thinking it not amiss because of their acquaintance in our country to show them some respect. Mr. Turner and his wife, and their son the Captain, dined with me, and I had a very good dinner for them, and very merry, and after dinner, Mr. Mills was forced to go, though it rained, to Stepney, to preach. We also to church and then home, and there comes Mr. Pelling with two men, by promise, one Wallington and Piggott, the former whereof, being a very little fellow, did sing a most excellent bass, and yet a poor fellow, a working goldsmith, that goes without gloves to his hands. Here we sung several good things. They supped with me, and so broke up.

16th. Sir H. Cholmly was with me a good while; who tells me that the Duke of York's child is christened, the Duke of Albemarle and the Marquis of Worcester godfathers, and my Lady Suffolk god-mother; and they have named it Edgar, which is a brave name. But it seems they are more joyful in the Chancellor's family, at the birth of this Prince, than in wisdom they should, for fear it should give the King cause of jealousy. Sir H. Cholmly thinks there may possibly be some persons that would be glad to have the Queen removed to some monastery, or somewhere

or other, to make room for a new wife; for they will all be unsafe under the Duke of York. He says the King and Parliament will agree; that is, that the King will do anything that they will have him. At the New Exchange, I stayed reading Mrs. Phillips's poems till my wife and Mercer called me to Mrs. Pierce's, by invitation to dinner, where I find her painted, which makes me loathe her, and the nastiest poor dinner that made me sick. Here I met with "A Fourth Advice to the Painter upon the coming in of the Dutch to the River and End of the War," that made my heart ache to read, it being too sharp, and so true. Here I also saw a printed account of the examinations taken touching the burning of the City of London, showing the plot of the Papists therein; which, it seems, hath been ordered to be burnt by the hands of the common hangman, in Westminster Palace. My wife and Mercer and I away to the King's playhouse to see the *Scornful Lady*, but it being now three o'clock there was not one soul in the pit; whereupon, for shame, we could not go in, but against our wills, went all to see *Tu Quoque* again, where there was pretty store of company. Here we saw Madam Morland, who is grown mighty fat, but is very comely. But one of the best parts of our sport was a mighty pretty lady that sat behind us, that did laugh so heartily and constantly, that it did me good to hear her. Thence to the King's house, upon a wager of

mine with my wife, that there would be no acting there to-day, there being no company: so I went in, and found a pretty good company there, and saw their dance at the end of the play.

17th. This evening Captain Cocke and Sir W. Batten did come to me, and sat and drank a bottle of wine, and told me how Sir W. Pen hath got an order for the *Flying Greyhound* for himself, which is so false a thing, and the part of a knave, as nothing almost can be more. This vexed me, but I resolved to bring it before the Duke, and try a pull for it.

18th. I walked in the Exchange, which is now made pretty, by having windows and doors before all their shops to keep out the cold.

19th. Comes my cousin, Kate Joyce, and an aunt of ours, Lettice, formerly Haynes, and now Howlett, come to town to see her friends, and also Sarah Kite, with her little boy in her arms. The child I like very well, and could wish it my own. My wife, being all unready, did not appear. I made as much of them as I could such ordinary company; and yet my heart was glad to see them, though their condition was a little below my present state to be familiar with. She tells me how the lifeguard, which we thought a little while since was sent down into the country about some insurrection, was sent to Winchcombe, to spoil the tobacco there, which it seems the people there do plant contrary to law, and have always done, and still been

under force and danger of having it spoiled, as it hath been oftentimes, and yet they will continue to plant it. The place, she says, is a miserable poor place.

20th. I out to pay some debts: among others to the tavern at the end of Billiter Lane, where my design was to see the pretty mistress of the house, which I did, and indeed is, as I always thought, one of the modestest, prettiest, plain women that ever I saw. By coach to the King's playhouse, and there saw *The Mad Couple*, my wife having been at the same play with Jane, in the 18d. seat.

21st. The King, Duke of York, and the men of the Court, have been these four or five days a-hunting at Bagshot.

22nd. (Lord's Day.) At noon comes Mr. Sheres, whom I find a good, ingenious man, but do talk a little too much of his travels. He left my Lord Sandwich well, but in pain to be at home for want of money, which comes very hardly. I have indulged myself more in pleasure for these last two months than ever I did in my life before, since I came to be a person concerned in business; and I doubt, when I come to make up my accounts, I shall find it so by the expense.

23rd. To Westminster, and there, among other things, bought the examinations of the businesses about the Fire of London, which is a book that Mrs. Pierce tells me hath been commanded to be burnt. The examinations indeed are very plain. At my Lord Ashley's, by

invitation, to dine there; at table it is worth remembering that my lord tells us that the House of Lords is the last appeal that a man can make, upon a point of interpretation of the law, and that therein they are above the judges; and that he did assert this in the Lords' House upon the late occasion of the quarrel between my Lord Bristol and the Chancellor, when the former did accuse the latter of treason, and the judges did bring it in not to be treason; my Lord Ashley did declare that the judgment of the judges was nothing in the presence of their Lordships, but only as far as they were the properest men to bring precedents; but not to interpret the law to their Lordships, but only the inducements of their persuasions: and this the Lords did concur in. Another pretty thing was my Lady Ashley's speaking of the bad qualities of glass coaches; among others, the flying open of the doors upon any great shake: but another was, that my Lady Peterborough being in her glass coach, with the glass up, and seeing a lady pass by in a coach whom she would salute, the glass was so clear, that she thought it had been open, and so ran her head through the glass! We were put into my Lord's room before he could come to us, and there had opportunity to look over his state of his accounts of the prizes; and there saw how bountiful the King hath been to several people: and hardly any man almost, Commander of the Navy of any note, but hath had some reward or other out of

them; and many sums to the Privy purse, but not so many, I see, as I thought there had been: but we could not look quite through it. But several Bed-chambermen and people about the Court had good sums; and, among others, Sir John Minnes and Lord Brouncker have £200 a-piece for looking to the East India prizes, while I did their work for them. By-and-by my Lord came, and we did look over Yeabsly's business a little; and I find how prettily this cunning lord can be partial and dissemble it in this case, being privy to the bribe he is to receive. With Sir H. Cholmly to Westminster: who by the way told me how merry the King and Duke of York and Court were the other day, when they were abroad a-hunting. They came to Sir G. Carteret's house at Cranbourne, and there were entertained, and all made drunk; and all being drunk, Armerer did come to the King, and swore to him: "By God, sir," says he, "you are not so kind to the Duke of York of late as you used to be."—"Not I?" says the King. "Why so?"—"Why," says he, "if you are, let us drink his health."—"Why, let us," says the King. Then he fell on his knees, and drank it; and having done, the King began to drink it. "Nay, sir," says Armerer; "you must do it on your knees!" So he did, and then all the company: and having done it, all fell a-crying for joy, being all maudlin and kissing one another, the King the Duke of York, and the Duke of York the King: and in such

• a maudlin pickle as never people were: and so passed  
• the day. But Sir H. Cholmly tells me that the King  
hath this good luck, that the next day he hates to have  
anybody mention what he had done the day before,  
nor will suffer anybody to gain upon him that way;  
which is a good quality. By-and-by comes Captain  
Cocke about business; who tells me that Mr. Brouncker  
is lost for ever, notwithstanding my Lord Brouncker  
hath advised with him, Cocke, how he might make a  
peace with the Duke of York and Chancellor, upon  
promise of serving him in the Parliament: but Cocke  
says that is base to offer, and will have no success there.  
He says that Mr. Wren hath refused a present of Tom  
Wilson's for his place of Storekeeper at Chatham, and  
is resolved never to take anything; which is both wise  
in him, and good to the King's service.

24th. To the office, where all the morning very busy.  
Home, where there dined with me Anthony Joyce and  
his wife, and Will and his wife, and my aunt Lettice,  
that was here the other day, and Sarah Kite, and I had  
a good dinner for them, and were as merry as I could  
be in that company where W. Joyce is, who is still the  
same impertinent fellow that ever he was. After  
dinner to St. James's, where we had an audience of  
the Duke of York of many things of weight, about  
which we stayed till past candle-light, and so Sir W.  
Batten and W. Pen and I fain to go in a hackney-  
coach all round by London Wall, for fear of cellars.



We tired one coach upon Holborn-Conduit Hill, and got another, and made it a long journey home. My wife tells me that W. Batelier hath been here to-day, and brought with him the pretty girl he speaks of, to come to serve my wife as a woman, out of the school at Bow. My wife says she is extraordinary handsome, and inclines to have her, and I am glad of it—at least, that if we must have one, she should be handsome. But I shall leave it wholly to my wife, to do what she will therein.

25th. With Sir H. Cholmly, who came to me about his business to Whitehall: and thither came also my Lord Brouncker; and we by-and-by called in, and our paper read; and much discourse thereon by Sir G. Carteret, my Lord Anglesey, Sir W. Coventry, and my Lord Ashley, and myself: but I could easily discern that they none of them understood the business; and the King at last ended it with saying lazily, "Why," says he, "after all this discourse, I now come to understand it; and that is, that there can nothing be done in this more than is possible," which was so silly as I never heard: "and therefore," says he, "I would have these gentlemen do as much as possible to hasten the Treasurer's accounts; and that is all." And so we broke up: and I confess I went away ashamed, to see how slightly things are advised upon there. Here I saw the Duke of Buckingham sit in Council again, where he was re-admitted, it seems, the last Council

day; and it is wonderful to see how this man is come again to his places, all of them, after the reproach and disgrace done him: so that things are done in a most foolish manner quite through. The Duke of Buckingham did second Sir W. Coventry in the advising the King that he would not concern himself in the evening or not evening any man's accounts, or anything else wherein he had not the same satisfaction that would satisfy the Parliament; saying, that nothing would displease the Parliament more than to find him defending anything that is not right, nor justifiable to the utmost degree: but methought he spoke it but very poorly. After this, I walked up and down the Gallery till noon; and here I met with Bishop Fuller, who, to my great joy, is made, which I did not hear before, Bishop of Lincoln. At noon I took coach, and to Sir G. Carteret's in Lincoln's Inn Fields, to the house that is my Lord's, which my Lord lets him have: and this is the first day of dining there. And there dined with him and his lady my Lord Privy Seal, who is indeed a very sober man, who, among other talk, did mightily wonder at the reason of the growth of the credit of bankers, since it is so ordinary a thing for citizens to break out of knavery. Upon this we had much discourse; and I observed therein, to the honour of this City, that I have not heard of one citizen of London broke in all this war, this plague, or this fire, and this coming up of the enemy among us; which he owned to

be very considerable. I to the King's playhouse, my eyes being so bad since last night's straining of them, that I am hardly able to see, besides the pain which I have in them. The play was a new play; and infinitely full: the King and all the Court almost there. It is *The Storm*, a play of Fletcher's; which is but so-so, methinks; only there is a most admirable dance at the end, of the ladies, in a military manner, which indeed did please me mightily. So, it being a mighty wet day and night, I with much ado got a coach, and, with twenty stops which he made, I got him to carry me quite through, and paid dear for it, and so home; and then comes my wife home from the Duke of York's playhouse, where she hath been with my aunt and Kate Joyce.

26th. To my chamber, whither Jonas Moore comes and tells me the mighty use of Napier's bones; so that I will have a pair presently. With my wife abroad to the King's playhouse, to show her yesterday's new play, which I like as I did yesterday, the principal thing extraordinary being the dance, which is very good.

27th. While I was busy at the office, my wife sends for me to come home, and what was it but to see the pretty girl which she is taking to wit upon her: and though she seems not altogether so great a beauty as she had before told me, yet indeed she is mighty pretty; and so pretty, that I find I shall be too

much pleased with it, and therefore could be contented as to my judgment, though not to my passion, that she might not come, lest I may be found too much minding her, to the discontent of my wife. She is to come next week. She seems, by her discourse, to be grave beyond her bigness and age, and exceeding well bred as to her deportment, having been a scholar in a school at Bow these seven or eight years. Creed and Sheres came and dined with me; and we had a great deal of pretty discourse of the ceremoniousness of the Spaniards, whose ceremonies are so many and so known, that, Sheres tells me, upon all occasions of joy or sorrow in a Grandee's family, my Lord Ambassador is fain to send one with an *en hora buena*, if it be upon a marriage, or birth of a child, or a *pasa me*, if it be upon the death of a child, or so. And these ceremonies are so set, and the words of the compliment, that he hath been sent from my Lord, when he hath done no more than send in word to the Grandee that one was there from the Ambassador; and he knowing what was his errand, that hath been enough, and he never spoken with him; nay, several Grandees having been to marry a daughter, have wrote letters to my Lord to give him notice, and out of the greatness of his wisdom to desire his advice, though people he never saw; and then my Lord he answers by commending the greatness of his discretion in making so good an alliance, &c., and so ends. He says that it is so far from dishonour to a

man to give private revenge for an affront, that the contrary is a disgrace; they holding that he that receives an affront is not fit to appear in the sight of the world till he hath revenged himself; and, therefore, that a gentleman there that receives an affront oftentimes never appears again in the world till he hath, by some private way or other, revenged himself: and that, on this account, several have followed their enemies privately to the Indies, thence to Italy, thence to France and back again, waiting for an opportunity to be revenged. He says my Lord was fain to keep a letter from the Duke of York to the Queen of Spain a great while in his hands, before he could think fit to deliver it, till he had learnt whether the Queen could receive it, it being directed to his cousin. He says that many ladies in Spain, after they are found to be with child, do never stir out of their beds or chambers till they are brought to bed: so ceremonious they are in that point also. He tells me of their wooing by serenades at the window, and that their friends do always make the match; but yet they have opportunities to meet at mass at church, and there they make love: that the Court there hath no dancing, nor visits at night to see the King or Queen, but is always just like a cloister, nobody stirring in it: that my Lord Sandwich wears a beard now, turned up in the Spanish manner. But that which pleased me most indeed is, that the peace which he hath made with

Spain is now printed here, and is acknowledged by all the merchants to be the best peace that ever England had with them: and it appears that the King thinks it so, for this is printed before the ratification is gone over; whereas that with France and Holland was not in a good while after, till copies came over of it in English out of Holland and France, that it was a reproach not to have it printed here. This I am mighty glad of; and is the first and only piece of good news, or thing fit to be owned, that this nation hath done several years. Anon comes Pelling, and he and I to Grays Inn Fields, thinking to have heard Mrs. Knight sing at her lodgings, by a friend's means of his; but we came too late; so must try another time.

28th. All the morning at the office, busy upon an Order of Council, wherein they are mightily at a loss what to advise about our discharging of seamen by ticket, there being no money to pay their wages before January. And this did move Mr. Wren at the table to-day to say, that he did believe that if ever there be occasion more to raise money, it will become here, as it is in Poland, that there are two treasurers—one for the King, and the other for the kingdom. Mr. Pierce, the surgeon, dropped in, who I feared did come to bespeak me to be godfather to his son, which I am unwilling now to be, having ended my liking to his wife, since I find she paints. After dinner comes Sir Fr. Hollis to me about business; and I with him by coach to

the Temple, and there I 'light; all the way he telling me romantic lies of himself and his family, how they have been Parliament men for Grimsby, he and his forefathers, this 140 years; and his father is now: and himself, at this day, stands for to be, with his father, by the death of his fellow-burgess; and that he believes it will cost him as much as it did his predecessor, which was £300 in ale, and £52 in buttered ale; which I believe is one of his devilish lies. To the Duke of York's playhouse, and there saw a piece of *Sir Martin Marall*, with great delight.

29th. (Lord's Day.) Put off first my summer's silk suit, and put on a cloth one. Then to church. All the afternoon talking in my chamber with my wife, about my keeping a coach the next year, and doing some things to my house, which will cost money—that is, furnish our best chamber with tapestry, and other rooms with pictures. In the evening read good books—my wife to me; and I did even my kitchen accounts.

30th. To the Duke of York to Council, where the officers of the navy did attend; and my Lord Ashley did move that an assignment for money of the Act might be put into the hands of the East India Company, or City of London, which he thought the seamen would believe. But this my Lord Anglesey did very handsomely oppose, and I think did carry it that it will not be: and it is indeed a mean thing that the King should so far own his own want of credit as to

borrow theirs in this manner. My Lord Anglesey told him that this was the way indeed to teach the Parliament to trust the King no more for the time to come, but to have a kingdom's Treasurer distinct from the King's. To Mrs. Martin's, to bespeak some linen, and drank, and away, having first promised my god-daughter a new coat—her first coat. So home, and there find our pretty girl Willet come, brought by Mr. Batelier, and she is very pretty, and so grave as I never saw a little thing in my life. I wish my wife may use her well.

October 1st. To Whitehall, and there in the boarded gallery did hear the music with which the King is presented this night by Monsieur Grebus, the master of his music; both instrumental—I think twenty-four violins—and vocal; an English song upon Peace. But, God forgive me! I never was so little pleased with a concert of music in my life. The manner of setting of words and repeating them out of order, and that with a number of voices, makes me sick, the whole design of vocal music being lost by it. Here was a great press of people; but I did not see many pleased with it, only the instrumental music he had brought by practice to play very just.

2nd. This morning came to me Mr. Gauden about business, with his gold chain about his neck, as being Sheriff of the City this year. To the New Exchange, and there met my wife and girl, and took them to the



King's house to see *The Traitor*, which still I like as a very good play; and thence, round by the wall, home, having drunk at the Cock ale-house, as I of late have used to do.

3rd. I understand that Sir W. Batten is gone to bed on a sudden again this morning, being struck very ill. To St. James's, where Sir W. Coventry took me into the gallery, and walked with me an hour, discoursing of navy business, and with much kindness to, and confidence in, me still; which I must endeavour to preserve, and will do; and, good man! all his care how to get the navy paid off, and that all other things therein may go well. He gone, I thence to my Lady Peterborough, who sent for me; and with her an hour, talking about her husband's pension, and how she hath got an order for it being paid again; though, I believe, for all that order, it will hardly be; but of that I said nothing; but her design is to get it paid again; and how to raise money upon it, to clear it from the engagement which lies upon it to some citizens, who lent her husband money, without her knowledge upon it, to vast loss. She intends to force them to take their money again, and release her husband of those hard terms. The woman is a very wise woman, and is very plain in telling me how her plate and jewels are at pawn for money, and how they are forced to live beyond their estate, and do get nothing by his being a courtier. The lady I pity, and her

family. Took out my wife and Willet, thinking to have gone to a play, but both houses were begun, and so we to the 'Change, and thence to my tailor's, and there, the coachman desiring to go home to change his horses, we went with him to a nasty end of all St. Giles's, and there went into a nasty room, a chamber of his, where he hath a wife and child, and there stayed, it growing dark, too, and I angry thereat, till he shifted his horses, and then home apace.

4th. To Whitehall; and in the Robe-chamber the Duke of York came to us, the officers of the navy, and there did meet together about business, where Sir W. Coventry did recommend his Royal Highness, now the prizes were disposing, to remember Sir John Harman to the King, for some bounty, and also for my Lady Minnes, which was very nobly done of him. Thence all of us to attend the Council, where we were anon called on, and there was a long hearing of Commissioner Pett, who was there, and there were the two Masters-Attendant of Chatham called in, who did deny their having any order from Commissioner Pett about bringing up the great ships, which gives the lie to what he says; but, in general, I find him to be but a weak, silly man, and that is guilty of horrid neglect in this business all along. Here broke off without coming to any issue, but that there should be another hearing on Monday next. I to my Lord Crewe's to dinner; but he

having dined, I took a very short leave, confessing I had not dined; and so to an ordinary hard by the Temple gate, where I have heretofore been, and there dined—cost me 10d. And so to my Lord Ashley's; and thence to my Lord Crewe's, and there did stay with him an hour till almost night, discoursing about the ill state of my Lord Sandwich, that he can neither be got to be called home, nor money got to maintain him there; which will ruin his family. And the truth is, he do almost deserve it, for by all relation he hath, in a little more than a year and a half, spent £20,000 of the King's money, and the best part of £10,000 of his own; which is a most prodigious expense, more than ever ambassador spent there, and more than these Commissioners of the Treasury will or do allow. And they demand an account before they will give him any more money; which puts all his friends to a loss what to answer. But more money we must get him, or be called home. I offer to speak to Sir W. Coventry about it; but my Lord will not advise to it, without consent of Sir G. Carteret. To see Sir W. Batten. He is asleep, and so I could not see him; but in an hour after, word is brought me that he is so ill, that it is believed he cannot live till to-morrow, which troubles me and my wife mightily, partly out of kindness, he being a good neighbour—and partly because of the money he owes me, upon our bargain of the late prize.

5th. Up, and to the office; and there all the morning; none but my Lord Anglesey and myself; but much surprised with the news of the death of Sir W. Batten, who died this morning, having been but two days sick. Sir W. Pen and I did despatch a letter this morning to Sir W. Coventry, to recommend Colonel Middleton, who we think a most honest and understanding man, and fit for that place. Sir G. Carteret did also come this morning, and walked with me in the garden; and concluded not to concern himself or have any advice made to Sir W. Coventry, in behalf of my Lord Sandwich's business; so I do rest satisfied, though I do think they are all mad, that they will judge Sir W. Coventry an enemy, when he is indeed no such man to anybody, but is severe and just, as he ought to be, where he sees things ill done. To my Lord Crewe, and there met my Lord Hinchinbroke and Lady Jemima, and there dined with them and my Lord, where pretty merry. To the King's house: and there, going in, met with Knipp, and she took us up into the tiring-rooms: and to the women's shift, where Nell was dressing herself, and was all unready, and is very pretty—prettier than I thought. And into the scene-room, and there sat down, and she gave us fruit: and here I read the questions to Knipp, while she answered me, through all her part of *Flora's Figarys*, which was acted to-day. But, Lord! to see how they were both

painted would make a man mad, and did make me leathe them; and what base company of men comes among them, and how lewdly they talk! And how poor the men are in clothes, and yet what a show they make on the stage by candle-light, is very observable. But to see how Nell cursed, for having so few people in the pit, was pretty; the other house carrying away all the people at the new play, and is said, nowadays, to have generally most company, as being better players. By-and-by into the pit, and there saw the play, which is pretty good.

6th. (Lord's Day.) Up, and walked out with the boy to Smithfield to Cow Lane, to Lincoln's, and there spoke with him, and agreed upon the hour to-morrow, to set out towards Brampton; but vexed that he is not likely to go himself, but sends another for him. Here I took a hackney coach, and to Whitehall, and there met Sir W. Coventry, and discoursed with him, and then with my Lord Brouncker, and many others, to end my matters in order to my going into the country to-morrow for five or six days, which I have not done for above three years. Walked with Creed into the park a little, and at last went into the Queen's side, and there saw the King and Queen, and saw the Ladies, in order to my hearing any news stirring to carry into the country, but met with none. Pelling tells us how old Mr. Batelier is dead last night, going

to bed well, which I am mightily troubled for, he being a good man.

7th. Up betimes, in order to my journey this day, and did leave my chief care, and the key of my closet, with Mr. Hater, with directions what papers to secure, in case of fire or other accident; and so, about nine o'clock, I, and my wife, and Willet, set out in a coach I have hired, with four horses; and W. Hewer and Murford rode by us on horseback: and so my wife and she in their morning gowns, very handsome and pretty, and to my great liking. We set out, and so out at Aldgate, and so to the Green Man, and so on to Enfield, in our way seeing Mr. Lowther and his lady in a coach, going to Walthamstow; and he told us that he would overtake us at night, he being to go that way. So we to Enfield, and there baited, it being but a foul, bad day; and there Lowther and Mr. Burford, an acquaintance of his, did overtake us, and there drank and ate together; and, by-and-by, we parted, we going before them, and very merry, my wife and girl talking, and telling tales and singing, and before night come to Bishop Stafford, where Lowther and his friend did meet us again, and carried us to the Reindeer, where Mrs. Aynsworth, who lived heretofore at Cambridge, and whom I knew better than they think for do live. It was she woman that, among other things, was great with my cousin Barnston, of Cottenham, and did use to sing to him, and did teach me "Full forty

times over," a very lewd song; a woman they are very well acquainted with, and is here what she was at Cambridge, and all the good fellows of the country come hither. Lowther and his friend stayed and drank, and then went farther this night; but here we stayed, and supped, and lodged. But, as soon as they were gone, and my supper getting ready, I fell to write my letter to my Lord Sandwich, which I could not finish before my coming from London, and a good letter, telling him the present state of all matters, and did get a man to promise to carry it to-morrow morning, to be there, at my house, by noon, and I paid him well for it; so, that being done, and my mind at ease, we to supper, and so to bed, my wife and I in one bed, and the girl in another, in the same room, and lay very well, but there was so much tearing company in the house, that we could not see the landlady; so I had no opportunity of renewing my old acquaintance with her.

8th. Up pretty betimes, though not so soon as we intended, by reason of Murford's not rising, and then not knowing how to open our door, which, and some other pleasant simplicities of the fellow, did give occasion to us to call him Sir Martin Marall, and W. Hewer being his helper and counsellor, we did call him, all this journey, Mr. Warner, which did give us good occasion of mirth now and then. At last, rose, and up, and broke our fast, and then took coach, and

away, and at Newport did call on Mr. Lowther; and he and his friend, and the master of the house, their friend, where they were, a gentleman, did presently get a horseback, and went with us to Audley End, and did go along with us all over the house and garden: and mighty merry we were. The house indeed do appear very fine, but not so fine as it hath heretofore to me; particularly the ceilings are not so good as I always took them to be, being nothing so well wrought as my Lord Chancellor's are; and though the figure of the house without be very extraordinary good, yet the staircase is exceeding poor; and a great many pictures, and not one good one in the house but one of Harry the Eighth, done by Holbein; and not one good suite of hangings in all the house, but all most ancient things, such as I would not give the hanging-up of in my house; and the other furniture, beds, and other things, accordingly. Only the gallery is good, and above all things the cellars, where we went down and drank of much good liquor; and indeed the cellars are fine: and here my wife and I did sing to my great content. And then to the garden, and there ate many grapes, and took some with us; and so away thence, exceeding well satisfied, though not to that degree that, by my old esteem of the house, I ought and did expect to have done, the situation of it not pleasing me. Here we parted with Lowther and his friends, and away to Cambridge, it being foul, rainy weather,



[October,

and there did take up at the Rose for the sake Mrs. Dorothy Drawwater, the vintner's daughter, which is mentioned in the play of Sir Martin Marall. Here we had a good chamber, and bespoke a good supper; and then I took my wife, and W. Hewer, and Willet, it holding up a little, and showed them Trinity College and St. John's Library, and went to King's College Chapel, to see the outside of it only; and so to our inn, and with much pleasure did this, they walking in their pretty morning gowns, very handsome, and I proud to find myself in condition to do this; and so home to our lodging, and there, by-and-by to supper, with much good sport, talking with the Drawers concerning matters of the town, and persons whom I remember, and so after supper to cards; and then to bed, lying I in one bed, and my wife and girl in another, in the same room, and very merry talking together, and mightily pleased both of us with the girl. Saunders, the only violin in my time, is, I hear, dead of the plague in the late plague there.

9th. Up, and got ready, and ate our breakfast; and then took coach: and the poor, as they did yesterday, did stand at the coach to have something given them, as they do to all great persons; and I did give them something: and the town music did also come and play: but, Lord! what sad music they made! So through the town, and observed at our College of Magdalene the posts new painted, and understand that

the Vice-Chancellor is there this year. And so away for Huntingdon; and come to Brampton at about noon, and there find my father and sister and brother all well: and up and down to see the garden with my father, and the house, and do altogether find it very pretty; especially the little parlour and the summer-houses in the garden, only the wall do want greens upon it, and the house is too low-roofed; but that is only because of my coming from a house with higher ceilings. But altogether is very pretty; and I bless God that I am like to have such a pretty place to retire to. After dinner I walked up to Hinchingbroke, where my lady expected me; and there spent all the afternoon with her: the same most excellent, good, discreet lady that ever she was; and, among other things, is mightily pleased with the lady that is like to be her son Hinchingbroke's wife. By-and-by my wife comes with Willet, my wife in her velvet vest, which is mighty fine, and becomes her exceedingly. I am pleased with my Lady Paulina and Anne, who both are grown very proper ladies, and handsome enough. But a thousand questions my lady asked me, till she could think of no more almost, but walked up and down the house with me. But I do find, by my Lady, that they are reduced to great straits for money, having been forced to sell her plate, £800 or £900 worth; and she is now going to sell a suite of her best hangings, of which I could almost wish to buy a piece or two, if the

pieces will be broke. But the house is most excellently furnished, and brave rooms and good pictures, so that it do please me infinitely beyond Audley End. Home, and there Mr. Shepley stayed with us and supped. Supper done, we all to bed, only I a little troubled that my father tells me that he is troubled that my wife shows my sister no countenance, and him but very little, but is as a stranger in the house; and I do observe she do carry herself very high; but I perceive there was some great falling out when she was here last, but the reason I have no mind to inquire after, for vexing myself, being desirous to pass my time with as much mirth as I can while I am abroad. My wife and I in the high bed in our chamber, and Willet in the trundle bed, which she desired to lie in, by us.

